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Orzechowski Interviewed on UN Session

AU1306172288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Jun 88 p 9

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs and PZPR Politburo member, by PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt in New York: "The Results May Exceed Expectations"—date not given]

[Text] [Arendt] Mr Minister, before the beginning of the third UN special session, which was devoted to disarmament, I heard doubts expressed about the need to convoke a forum of this kind, because so far the most important disarmament agreements have been concluded outside the United Nations. However, many participants in the session itself stressed the United Nations' historic responsibility for progress in arms reduction. So, what is the truth in your opinion?

[Orzechowski] Leaving aside extreme opinions, there is no one today who questions the role of the United Nations in the disarmament process. The only problem is how its role can be strengthened and made more active.

Disarmament is a collection of measures leading to lasting, universal, and equal security for everyone. This feeling of security is a necessary condition for a world of peace, cooperation, partnership, and the joint resolution of the problems that the world faces. The role of the United Nations—the most universal international organization in existence today—should be viewed against this broad background. Attention is focused within the organization on problems troubling the whole world and its individual member states, from small states with populations of several thousand in the South Pacific, to large powers.

The international community associates many different hopes and expectations with the United Nations. This is fully justified. But, at the same time, we must remember that we are living in a very real world, in which the overwhelming majority of nuclear weapons are in the hands of two military superpowers. Small, medium-sized, and even large countries that do not have nuclear weapons fear the outbreak of an uncontrolled armed conflict and nuclear catastrophe. Their real influence on nuclear weapons stockpiles is slight, and this is what gives rise to doubts about the role of the United Nations in disarmament.

However, there is much that does depend on the will of all UN member states and the voice of the broad international community. We often forget that great powers also reach agreement because this is what is generally desired by the peoples of the world. I do not know what the outcome of these talks would be if public opinion and active campaigning by peace movements were ignored. Neither Washington nor Moscow can fail to take account of the importance of the actual state of opinion in Europe and the world. I think that this is also part of the essence of the new political thinking.

[Arendt] In some of the speeches made at the general debate, it was stressed that the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will initiate a real disarmament process. The United Nations has an important role in giving this conception of disarmament stability and continuity. What kind of role can and should the United Nations play?

[Orzechowski] Essentially, the role is included in the UN Charter. Although the document was drawn up more than 40 years ago and today's world is entirely different, the Charter is still completely relevant to today's world. What the document says can be translated into the language of today's political undertakings.

The United Nations exists, above all, for the creation and dissemination of the concept of a world of lasting peace, security, and cooperation. Halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament are some of the ways in which it can do this. It is within this framework that the United Nations can and should act out its role more and more fully. What I have in mind is the creation of an entire system of forms of arms control. The United Nations can—and we already have concrete examples of this—participate directly in the resolution of regional conflicts, which are such an important element in the world situation. Without the resolution of these conflicts, it is difficult to talk about great progress in disarmament. The United Nations can also play an important role as disarmament becomes more and more of a fact, because what will arise is the question of the use that is made of the resources that are released through arms reduction for the socioeconomic development objectives of individual states. The United Nations can participate in the realization of programs for development in various areas of life, including ecology, demography, and relations between North and South, that is to say, those global challenges that we face but cannot solve because of a lack of resources.

This issue must be viewed realistically, as an expression and evidence of the hopes and problems that matter to the world. What matters most of all is that today there is no state that questions the role of the United Nations in disarmament, regardless of the different ways in which the role can be interpreted. This is confirmed by the course of the third session and the speeches made there. A speech that was particularly important and interesting was the one made by USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze.

One is tempted to say that the session will produce better results than expected. We expect a substantive final document to be adopted that will stress the growing role of the United Nations in the disarmament process, including its role at the Geneva disarmament conference.

[Arendt] Mr Minister, the first few days of the New York session coincided with the Soviet-American summit. How are the events in Moscow assessed when set against this background?

[Orzechowski] This is the third time that I have attended a UN session or debate. I truly believe that what is happening in the hall of the General Assembly and, to a greater extent, behind the scenes, is a very sensitive gauge of everything that is happening along the Moscow-Washington axis. You can clearly see how relations between the two countries are reflected in the views of delegates, in their attitudes and their statements—this ranges from a kind of political depression and doubt, to euphoria. This is fully confirmed by what is happening now, after the Moscow summit. The general feeling is that it signals a clear improvement in international relations. The age of nuclear disarmament has begun. Dialogue between the superpowers is being stepped up, regardless of all the problems that remain.

And one more thing: Here, at the United Nations, this forum of the universal organization for states, you can palpably, physically sense that the status of relations between the USSR and the United States has a direct impact on the role of small and medium-sized states all over the world. This is very important. It is no coincidence that the third session has shown a real explosion of all kinds of regional initiatives concerning disarmament. It provides confirmation once again of the validity of the rule that we have talked about on several occasions: When there is detente, growing confidence, and more political dialogue and diplomatic negotiations, there is a greater need for real initiatives on the part of small and medium-sized states than at any other time. These initiatives cease to be no more than an expression of good intentions and goodwill. The possibility of realizing these initiatives and of being involved in the great cause of strengthening peace and disarmament is clearly greater.

[Arendt] Mr Minister, the message sent by the chairman of the State Council, Wojciech Jaruzelski, which has been deemed an official third session document, contains, among other things, the basic elements of the expanded version of the Polish plan for reducing arms and increasing confidence in central Europe. How is our proposal being received?

[Orzechowski] The Jaruzelski Plan has aroused great interest in many parts of the world and among various states, and not just in Europe. This has happened for two reasons above all.

The plan suits its "historical time" very well. Everyone has realized for quite a long time now that Europe is the largest arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons. Currently, with the withdrawal of intermediate- and shorter-ranger missiles, the question being asked is: What next? How should disarmament develop further? The expanded version of the Polish initiative provides an answer to this.

The plan is comprehensive, very concrete, and open to suggestions from partners. That is precisely why it has been decided that it can constitute a subject for discussion and negotiation.

Incidentally, while mentioning these ideas, I would like to stress that many of our partners and friends have been pleased to see that Poland has once again become active on a permanent basis, that it has returned to its traditional role in the international arena. This is being assisted by the new climate in world relations generally.

[Arendt] During your stay in New York, you have met several foreign ministers. Press communiques do not, by their very nature, reflect the full substance and atmosphere of such meetings. Could you provide some more detailed information?

[Orzechowski] My stay in New York this time has not been the same as usual. It has been shorter than before. Prior to our departure for New York, we decided that basically we would not arrange bilateral meetings. The meetings that took place were at the instigation of our partners.

Chronologically, the first meeting was with Cardinal Agostino Casaroli. There is no need to explain his role at the Vatican. I would just point out that he is the chief architect of relations between the Vatican and Eastern and central Europe, and thus with socialist Europe. To put it figuratively, he has his "finger on the pulse" of everything that is happening in relations between the PPR and the Apostolic See, and this also applies to church-state relations in Poland. What we did talk about was the state of relations between the Vatican and the PPR. The Holy See has traditionally been interested in what is happening in Poland, in the development of the domestic situation. I think the most important aspect of the meeting was the reaffirmation of the desire to complete work on documents that would provide a basis for the establishment of diplomatic ties. I am thinking of the desire to adopt sound, long-term documents that base relations between the PPR and the Vatican on lasting foundations.

There was also an important meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister. What we discuss at our meetings, which have by now become a tradition—there have been six so far—is the whole range of bilateral relations. On this occasion we also made a quite thorough examination of the work of three working parties established in January of this year. We noted the areas in which progress has been achieved and those in which it's lacking. We confirmed that I would visit Bonn. Our wish to have Chancellor Kohl visit our country this year was also confirmed. I would

like to stress this point in particular, because in the mass media in various parts of Europe and not just in the FRG, false reports have recently appeared stating that the chancellor has supposedly called off his visit to our country. The New York meeting confirmed the common wish to see the visit take place.

I met Leo Tindemans, the Belgian foreign minister. We reviewed mutual relations, which are developing very well. During my meeting with Qian Qichen, the PRC minister of foreign affairs, we affirmed our desire to expand mutually advantageous cooperation. The current visit to the PRC by Premier Zbigniew Messner reflects this. We also exchanged views on international matters, including disarmament and regional conflicts.

I also met with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. The talks we held affirmed our desire for, and the nature of, our relations with the states in the Middle East and the Jewish community throughout the world.

I also had other meetings with, for example, the Nepalese foreign minister. In addition, I spoke to senior representatives of what is an exotic state for us, Vanuatu, with which we established diplomatic relations last year. The state, which is located in the South Pacific region in an area of great strategic importance, is currently undergoing important internal changes, and it decided that it should inform us about them and expressed its desire for mutual contacts.

[Arendt] Mr Minister, what about relations with the United States? As we are in New York, I think we should say at least a few words about them.

[Orzechowski] You are right. Being in New York, it is difficult not to consider Polish-American relations. They are still at a very delicate and difficult stage. Real, tangible progress would be in the interest of both sides.

Our position remains unchanged. There are plans for an official visit to the United States by the PPR foreign minister. It would mark an important step on the road to finding new possibilities for developing mutual relations.

[Arendt] Mr Minister, thank you.

Politburo Adopts Cadre Rotation Measures

AU1606194388 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Jun 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Effective Measures To Ensure Good Administration"]

[Text] The AWP Central Committee adopted a few days ago a decision, "On the Tour of Duty of Cadres Dealing Directly With the Vital Requirements of the Working People."

In conformity with this decision, all heads or officials in charge of cadre, housing, labor, and residence permit bureaus, who are working in the central organs, in the districts, and enterprises, and who have completed 5 years of duty in their jobs, are to be replaced within the month of June 1988. The Politburo directed that they should be appointed to other positions within or outside their respective departments, executive committees, or enterprises, in conformity with their abilities and their past contributions. The decision also stresses that it should become a rule that people occupying these positions should be replaced every 5 years.

This decision is essentially a further concrete implementation of the party's constant directives pertaining to the continuous revolutionization of the cadres, particularly with regard to the implementation of its rotation policy, this being considered to be an effective way to ensure good administration and to protect the cadres themselves from manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism. The decision also synthesizes Comrade Ramiz Alia's instruction at the Vlore District AWP Committee plenum, that it is the party's duty to protect honest cadres and people and to take measures to avoid all subjectivism.

In adopting this decision, the Politburo pointed out that, generally, the cadres of the party, state, and economic apparatus, who have been entrusted with posts in those sectors dealing with cadre, housing, labor, and residence permit problems, and so forth, have worked conscientiously and devotedly in implementing the party's line. They have been able to cope with numerous tasks, as well as with the pressure that is not infrequently exerted by dishonest people who seek for themselves or their friends that questions be resolved in ways that are contrary to established criteria and rules. The party and state organizations have always appreciated the work of these people, in the same way that they have known how to deal with those who have abused their duties.

Rotation is one of the more effective ways of protecting these cadres from the pressure exerted on them. In this way their thinking will always remain fresh and they themselves uncompromised. In their new posts, they will find different environments, where their knowledge and experience will be useful, and where they themselves will benefit.

Those sectors dealing with the vital requirements of the working people are really delicate sectors, because they deal with meeting the requirements of the people. That is why the cadres appointed to these posts should be, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed, examples of modesty, proletarian simplicity, free of all manifestations of intellectual arrogance and megalomania, and free of all authoritarian spirit that stifles initiative, freedom of thinking and acting. They should also be consistent fighters against favoritism and shady deals. That is why the decision of the AWP Central Committee Politburo stresses: "Honest, devoted, capable, and industrious cadres should be placed in charge of cadre, housing, labor, residence permit, and other bureaus."

Of course, the aforementioned sectors are not the only ones which may come under the pressure of illicit interference and subjectivist opinions. There are others, undoubtedly. In conformity with the decisions of the AWP Central Committee Politburo, the party committees in the central departments have been instructed to adopt similar measures also in the case of posts which, in their opinion, may come under the pressure of unjust interference and subjectivism.

Everything is stated clearly in the decision of the AWP Central Committee Politburo. What is of fundamental importance is that the party organizations and organs should correctly explain and implement this decision, which is in the interest of the cadres themselves, and that they should tackle this politically and ideologically. This also provides an occasion to clarify certain questions pertaining to administration, the meaning and application of centralism and democracy, collegiality, and the line of the masses.

It is the duty of the party organizations to educate the people working in these and all other party and state sectors to know how to face up to pressure and to avoid subjectivism, to correctly apply all norms, rules, and laws established by the party and the state, as well as the principle of collegiality and the line of the masses.

On the basis of their authority, the respective organs should carefully study and adopt decisions on the projects presented to them and they should know how to defend their decisions in favor or against the interested parties. Every member of the body concerned should know, when the occasion arises, how to confront the interested parties, defend the decision that has been made, and should not, as has happened on occasion, try to give the impression that others have made the decision and that he himself knows little or nothing about it.

At the same time, the party organs and every communist and cadre, as well as every honest citizen, should adopt a stand against all illicit and unlawful actions. Those who carry out such actions should be criticized publicly and in good time. This is what sound public opinion considers the correct way to implement the party line.

Generally, in our country people know whom to address concerning their personal or general interests, and do not approach their friends. But there are also those who think and act differently. The cadres, and particularly the communists, and the workers and cooperativists, must react immediately against them in order to bar the way to wrongful actions.

At the same time, the communists and cadres, as well as all sound public opinion, must better oppose those rumours spread by certain unscrupulous people who, when their demands are not met, insist that matters can only be settled deviously. Our people must play an active part in the struggle led by the party against bureaucracy, liberalism, and alien anti-socialist manifestations, and must not remain indifferent and support rumours, as happens not infrequently.

The party has worked and continues to work for the revolutionary education and tempering of communists and cadres. Special discussions have taken place within the party concerning militancy, the personal example, the moral personality of communists and cadres, and so forth, and these have had a positive influence on all matters. The decision of the AWP Central Committee Politburo also serves to strengthen the revolutionary spirit and to preserve the clean moral personality of the cadres, as well as to eliminate alien manifestations and to correctly apply the party's policy, the laws of the state, and socialist democracy.

Leaders' Public Appearances 5-11 June

AU1206130788 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts on 5-11 June reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (date and time of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; AWP Central Committee Politburo members Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Qirjako Mihali, attended on 6 June the opening session of the 10th Congress of the Albanian Women's Union. (1800 GMT 6 Jun)

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredi Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Qirjako Mihali attended on 8 June the closing session of the Albanian Women's Congress. (1800 GMT 8 Jun)

Foto Cami and Manush Myftiu attended on 10 June a scientific session organized by the Institute of History to mark the 110th anniversary of the Albanian League of Prizren. (1800 GMT 10 Jun)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 9 June a visiting Vietnamese scientific delegation. (1800 GMT 9 Jun)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, attended on 5 June an exhibition of artistic works by women in Tirana. (1800 GMT 5 Jun)

Draft Resolution on Intellectual Restructuring
AU0606172488 Sofia BTA in English
1538 GMT 6 Jun 88

["Guidelines for Restructuring in the Arts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 6 (BTA)—A draft resolution of the forthcoming plenum of the CC of the BCP on restructuring of the intellectual sphere, entitled "Guidelines and Tasks of Restructuring in the Fields of Artistic Expression," has been released today for nationwide discussion.

Irrespective of the incontestable successes of culture in the early 80s, open problems and negative phenomena have piled up in some areas, and conditions have emerged for the manifestation of monopolism. In line with the July Concept (adopted by the CC of the BCP at its July 1987 Plenum), with the decisions of the BCP National Conference (held in January 1988), and with Mr Todor Zhivkov's remarks on certain problems and tasks in the intellectual sphere, it is imperative to go ahead with a reorganization of artistic activity and with a reform of its management. The idea of the changes is to create conditions for artists to reveal their creative capabilities and powers, so that Bulgarian culture could be upgraded to a qualitatively new level and could increase its contribution to the country's advancement.

Cultural restructuring will be a complicated and a multifaceted process, the success of which will depend on the participation of those involved in cultural development. The reforms in the organization and management of artistic activity will be consistent with the general principles of restructuring in this country and with the specific requirements of intellectual life.

The guidelines in this area include: enlisting the active support of the intelligentsia in solving all major problems of social development, providing conditions for creative debate and openness, eliminating red tape from the organization of cultural life, and opening up Bulgarian culture to the world's cultural values and experience.

To this end, culture will be organized and managed more democratically.

Among the foremost priorities, the document stresses the need for theaters, film studios, publishing houses, libraries, museums and foundations to establish themselves as self-managing cultural institutions, wielding authority, enjoying rights and assuming duties and responsibilities. These are organizations of the artists and cultural workers themselves, and they should have a decisive say in the "bottom-up" formation of the self-management bodies, the "guidelines" read. These organizations could establish themselves as associations, corporations, companies, territorial complexes etc. These organizations will take care of the facilities in their charge and will determine by themselves their plans and repertoires. They will be functioning on a cost-accounting basis and under specific terms of self-support. Legally, they will have the status of bodies corporate. As the economic organizations engaged in the cultural industries assign priority to creative tasks, they will enjoy some financial concessions.

The document envisages the possibility of artists working in the same or in different spheres to form, on a voluntary basis, independent associations for the fulfilment of a specific artistic task.

The "guidelines" specify the tasks of the communities in the organization and management of artistic activity. In their capacity as self-governing territorial units, they will assume full responsibility for the state and progress of the arts on their respective territories. It is recommended that cultural values be disseminated in a way that would take into account the specific requirements of the population and would be geared to redressing the imbalances of cultural life in the major cities and in the smaller and outlying population centers. The document says that the banner of peace international children's movement should continue to develop as a form of cultivating artistic talents in children and of upbringing them in a spirit of peace and cooperation.

The section on the management of cultural activities says that a new system of running cultural life emerges in the conditions of self-management. The mandate principle is introduced in all governing bodies. Each elective office can be held for no more than two consecutive terms. The governing bodies of cultural associations will be elected for two-year terms. The self-management bodies will be constituted at a communal and at a national level. Communal conferences of culture will elect the local self-management bodies for two-year terms. These conferences will also choose delegates to the supreme bodies of cultural self-management, the congresses of culture, which will be held once in four years. The congress will elect a standing national body of cultural self-management.

Cultural unions will be developing as organizations of artists and should be freed of their extrinsic state and trade-union functions. They will be partners and opponents to the national body of cultural self-management. New forms will be sought for interaction between the different strata of the artistic community. The document stresses the need for society to adopt new criteria and mechanisms to judge artistic achievement. An emphasis is laid on the role of openness and on the importance of professional appraisal, and it is indicated that critics should be independent of those of whose works they form and give judgement.

The document requires the introduction of broadly democratic procedures of nominating candidates for awards and of discussing the nominations.

Great store is set by the role of the mass media in the assertion of the new principles, of openness, of promoting the principle of debatability in artistic life.

The higher institutes training personnel involved in cultural development will be developing as self-managing associations.

The document discusses the specific application of the economic mechanism in culture, saying that it should provide effective incentives for accomplished mastery and notable artistic results.

The "guidelines" say that a new state policy is needed in building the material and technical base of culture.

The restructuring of Bulgarian culture requires active international cultural exchanges, the document says in conclusion.

Cooperation Protocol in Electronics With GDR
AU1506194988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] On 15 June Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics, and Ivan Penev, chairman of "Electronics" Association, signed a protocol on cooperation between the two countries. It specifies the tasks of the future joint activity related to implementing the Program on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between Bulgaria and the GDR Until the Year 2005. The protocol pays special attention to issues related to developing and exchanging technological equipment, cooperating in the area of electric consumer goods, and so forth.

GDR'S Schabowski Attends Friendship Meeting
LD1706021688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1841 GMT 16 Jun

[Text] Sofia 16 Jun ADN—The "Berlin Days" were opened today in the Bulgarian capital with a friendship meeting in a Sofia factory. Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee and secretary of the Berlin Bezirk Executive is leading an SED delegation taking part. In a speech to 500 workers, Schabowski paid tribute to the longstanding, traditional relations between the people, relations which have deep and firm roots. Ivan Panev, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Sofia Grad committee of the BCP, said he values the "Berlin Days" as an expression of the fraternal cooperation between the two parties, states, and capitals. Mayor Erhard Krack opened an exhibition on "Architecturally related art in Berlin."

Cooperation Protocols Signed With Brazil, Spain
AU1606200088 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Brasilia, June 16 (BTA)—The Bulgaro-Brazilian Trade Commission completed its eighth session in the Brazilian capital. A final protocol on trade and cooperation in science and technology was signed.

Madrid, June 16 (BTA correspondent)—The Bulgaro-Spanish Commission for Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation ended its seventh session here. The session demonstrated the two countries' readiness to promote their economic cooperation in a number of fields, and above all in light industry, which offers fine opportunities for joint work. A protocol on the promotion and expansion of Bulgaro-Spanish economic and trade contacts was signed.

Turkey's Ozal Visit to Greece Assessed
AU1606112488 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 15 Jun 88 p 3

[Boyko Borisov article: "With Empty Hands..."]

[Text] The Greek-Turkish contradictions cannot be cut with one blow like the Gordian knot, said Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal to journalists upon his arrival in Athens at the beginning of the week. He recommended "patience and constant efforts." The Greek side also expressed the official view that the road toward solving the contradictions and normalizing relations will not be an easy and short one.

The Greek-Turkish summit dialogue in Athens confirmed that the abovementioned statements are the only common denominator of the Greek and Turkish views on the prospects of developing their relations now, when the first official visit of a Turkish governmental leader in Greece is taking place after an interruption of 36 years. However, while Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou expressed the conviction that the time has come for specific decisions and actions for normalizing relations on the basis of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and finding a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem in the interest of peace in the region, Turgut Ozal only mentioned that... the bilateral contradictions must be resolved step by step and on a long-term basis. In his toast at the official dinner given in his honor by the Greek prime minister, Ozal did not conceal his country's ambition to use the "spirit of Davos" as a jumping board for accelerating the preparations for Turkey's associated membership in the EEC, and clearly stated that Ankara... does not tend toward any concessions and compromises. Against this background it was only natural to prolong the Greek-Turkish talks by at least 1 day.

One understands the pessimistic forecasts of the political observers about the results of Turgut Ozal's visit to Athens, which is taking place in a tense atmosphere of mass protest actions of Cypriot, Armenian, and Kurdish organizations and unprecedented security measures, in which more than 10,000 policemen are engaged. The first contradiction of the views of Ankara and Athens emerged already during the first day of the Greek-Turkish summit dialogue, the authoritative I KATHIMERINI daily said. Andreas Papandreou posed all the important issues of bilateral relations, while Turgut Ozal preferred to maintain silence, the AVGHI newspaper said. Newspapers close to the leading party note that the Turkish premier has come to Athens with "empty hands," and therefore one should not expect significant results from the visit....

The joint declaration of the Communist Party of Greece, the Communist Party of Turkey, and the Turkish Labor Party, which was published here, expressed the conviction that it is necessary to conduct a Greek-Turkish dialogue based on mutual respect for the two countries' national independence and territorial integrity, as well as on the common striving of the two peoples to live in peace and understanding. It stresses the necessity of energetically opposing the "mediation" of the United States and NATO and adopting specific steps on the part of the two countries, for coordinating the efforts for achieving a just and lasting solution of the Cypriot problem and withdrawing all foreign troops and bases from the island.

Strougal, Delegation Depart for SFRY

LD1606153188 Prague CTK in English 1446 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Prague June 16 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal left here today for an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

He is accompanied by Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba, First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission Josef Voracek.

Relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have a long-standing tradition and their friendly cooperation rests on the principles of equality and mutual respect.

This cooperation benefits from frequent working meetings of the two countries' party and state officials. The most important of these in the recent period was Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak's visit to Yugoslavia last September. During this visit, both sides were satisfied with the level of bilateral relations and voiced readiness to promote them, and a program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia up to the year 2000 was signed.

Despite a slight drop in Czechoslovak engineering exports to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia remains Yugoslavia's fourth biggest trade partner, their trade turnover amounted to almost 1,500 million dollars in 1987. The main commodities in Czechoslovak exports to Yugoslavia are machine tools, machinery for agriculture and the building, textile and leather industries, cars and lorries, chemical products and consumer goods. Going the other way are mainly non-ferrous metals, consumer goods, machinery, sea-going ships and chemical products.

Ever more important is the two countries' cooperation and specialization in production, now covered by agreements concerning in particular the production of railway engines, trams, mineral fertilizers, pumps, furniture and consumer goods. The share of goods made under these agreements was almost 7 per cent in the 1987 trade.

An important part of commercial contacts is the Czechoslovak purchase of Yugoslav services, especially in tourism, transport and the building industry. Some two million tonnes of Czechoslovak goods are transported via Yugoslav ports every year.

Czechoslovak-Yugoslav cooperation in culture, education and health care is also developing well.

Strougal Holds Talks With USSR's Antonov

LD1506134288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In the course of their working conversation they examined a wide range of issues to be discussed at the forthcoming 44th CEMA session and at the forthcoming meeting between our federal premier and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers which will take place in Prague at the beginning of July.

Lubomir Strougal stressed the importance of the session for restructuring the integration mechanism of our community but criticized the insignificant results so far in the implementation of the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of CEMA member states up to the year 2000.

Aleksey Antonov submitted a number of proposals to broaden economic relations between both countries, emphasizing at the same time cooperation in engineering, electronics, and chemistry.

Culture Minister Kymlicka Departs USSR

LD1606231088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Milan Kymlicka, Czech minister of culture, ended his working visit in the USSR and left Moscow for home.

During his stay, he held talks with the Soviet Culture Minister Vasiliy Zakharov on the topical issue of Czechoslovak-Soviet cultural cooperation and the possibilities of its further expansion.

Reagan Refusal To Sign INF Supplement Viewed

AU1506131388 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jun 88 p 4

[Stanislav Cerven article in the "Foreign-Political Note": "In Whose Interest?"]

[Text] The content of the message addressed by President Ronald Reagan to the Senate at the end of last week was surprising—even by American standards. In the message he refused a supplement to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is a part of the resolution on ratification. The supplement stipulates that the "present interpretation of the treaty is binding for both the present and the future U.S. Presidents." The senators who proposed and supported the supplement, proceeded from the experience of the treaty on antimissile defense, which the United States and the USSR signed in 1972, and the effectiveness of which the White House wants to weaken.

The Ronald Reagan government—to justify the "Star Wars" program and prove that its realization is not against the letter and spirit of the valid Soviet-American treaties—has begun operating with the term "broader interpretation."

Opponents of the feverish arms buildup have for a long time been drawing attention to the fact that such an irresponsible [neseriozni] approach can be expected in case of other documents. Their concern has been confirmed now. Ronald Reagan, when he went to Moscow recently, could not take with him a ratified treaty on intermediate-range missiles only because the Senate was dragging its feet on the aforementioned supplement. Even though the Soviet Union originally did not regard it necessary to include the aforementioned supplement in the treaty, after the experience with the American contractual partner, the USSR was not against it, on the contrary, Soviet representatives expressed satisfaction with it and understanding for the concern of the supplement's authors—the American senators.

Barely 2 weeks have passed since the exchange of the ratification documents, and it shows that in case of concluding treaties with the United States it is really necessary to consider all possibilities, as it is not possible to rely on its serious approach in good faith. After all, is the formulation contained in the President's message that one has to "avoid unilateral constraints on the United States" not outrageous?! As if the treaty would not be bilaterally binding! After all, was it not the Soviet Union who exerted efforts for achieving the treaty and, at the same time, scrapped a larger number of its missiles, and even missiles that were not on the European part of its territory. The Soviet Union expressed much willingness to achieve, as soon as possible, a treaty reducing strategic offensive weapons. But in light of attitudes such as those voiced by the President in his message to the Senate it is possible to guess that willingness is lacking on the American side, when the White House would already like to de facto cast doubt upon what it has recently officially pledged to do.

Charter 77 Appeal on Invasion Anniversary

PM1706070688 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Charter 77 Launches Appeal to Public Opinion in Five Countries Which Invaded in August 1968"]

[Text] To mark the forthcoming 20th anniversary of the "military intervention by five countries against the Prague Spring and against the Czechoslovak people's attempt to reform, democratize, and morally regenerate their country," Charter 77 is appealing to public opinion in the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and the GDR.

In its document number 13/1988, Charter expresses the view that intervention "not only had disastrous results for Czechoslovkia but also had a harmful influence on life in all the countries which participated in the invasion, because it stopped or slowed down economic, social, and political reforms.... It strengthened conservatism and led to crises and further repercussions, to stagnation, ultraconservatism, and moral destruction. The present efforts to bring about change and reform are the culmination of a negative development and are taking place amid difficulties and in a distrustful social environment. If it had not been for that ignominious decision to use military means to repress the Czechoslovak renewal attempt, it is likely that a strong atmosphere of confidence—a vital precondition for the peace process on our continent—would now prevail in the 'European home.'

"In view of the fact that August 1968 was not a disaster for us alone," Charter concludes, "we are calling on public opinion in the five countries to help in their own way to clarify thinking and create an atmosphere which would force the governments in your countries to finally recognize the illegitimacy and illegality of the 1968 military intervention. Even if you fail, we can assure you that your voice will be an encouragement to us and may even herald a better joint future in our cultural and historical entity."

Fojtik Gives Speech to Artists' Union Group

AU1506092188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jun 88 pp 5,6

["From the Speech by Comrade Jan Fojtik," member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a meeting with leading representatives of CSSR art unions in the Palace of Culture in Prague on 7 June]

[Text] Comrades,

I would like to join your discussion with a few remarks.

First, about the purpose of our meeting. Our aim is not an ostentatious demonstration before the public of the readiness of our party leadership to work with the cultural front; our aim is to truly cooperate with this front, to develop this cooperation with a view to the needs and requirements that confront us at present, needs and requirements which you have discussed very frankly, for which we are grateful to you. We are confronted with momentous tasks and also problems, which we must face head on and the solution of which we must tackle jointly with you.

There has been talk here about the need for offensiveness—with regard to our presentation abroad but also, and in particular, with regard to our internal situation. Allow me in this connection to say a few words about the CPCZ Central Committee session on ideological issues, now in preparation. We reckon that it will be held in autumn this year. I believe that there is no special need to prove here how needed that plenum is. We want to follow up on the seventh, eighth, and ninth sessions of

the CPCZ Central Committee, which drew up the basic, yet simultaneously sufficiently specific, platform for the restructuring of our society and obliged the party to take its place at the head of this restructuring. This platform needs to be worked out further; The general conditions of restructuring must be applied to our conditions. There should be no discussion whatsoever in our country about the essential need for such application, about the need to proceed from our conditions, from the specific characteristics of our country. The goal is common to all of us; similarly as in other socialist countries, we must rid our society of certain braking mechanisms and obsolete forms of management and stereotypes and reach a higher level of the development of socialism. We want to consolidate all that we have accomplished thus far in building socialism. However, this can be done only if and when we look forward and deal with the problems that lie ahead of us.

We Are Building on Solid Foundations [subhead]

Itemizing restructuring for our conditions—that is a task that has far from been completed. Accomplishing this task is connected with ideological struggle, with the reassessment of many concepts and attitudes held thus far, with the clarification of the further course of action, with criticism of shortcomings, with the activation of the entire party and society. The Central Committee plenum on ideological issues must contribute to all that.

It has been correctly said here that we are entering a complicated period. Comrades Sequens, Kozak, Skala, and, before me, also Comrade Zahradnik spoke about this with a great sense of urgency, to make us realize this fact. It is evident that we will not steer clear of some difficulties. That is an objective matter, resulting from developments in our country but also from developments in other socialist countries, in the Soviet Union in particular. The question stands as follows: Will this be a path of chaos, confusion, and helplessness and, potentially, even of a certain degradation of values that have until now been valid, a path leading to the decay of socialism, or will it be the path of a new upswing of socialism? Only the future will give a definite answer to this question. It would be very harmful to belittle the situation and to wave aside the doubts being expressed with artificial optimism and with propagandistic cliches about socialism drawing second breath and about us marching forward.

Luckily, we have a solid starting base for restructuring in Czechoslovakia. We must proceed from this base and must not do anything in the economy, in the social policy, or also in the cultural sphere that might endanger it. What we have achieved in the past 2 decades must be held in esteem. Comrade Kozak reacted to some article in [the writers' union weekly] KMEN, according to which now, when a greater opportunity for exchanges of values with foreign countries arises, we supposedly have nothing to offer in the cultural sphere. The view of the author of that article has its background. It is not mere skepticism, it is an ideological position of sorts. After all, some people would really like to erase those 20 years, they would like to follow up on the events of 1968. Naturally, we will not come to terms with this political, ideological position by simply rejecting it and declaring it antisocialist and hostile. We must refute it by means of arguments, on the basis of facts and a truthful analysis of the past as well as of the present situation, by looking ahead and tackling new tasks, while simultaneously cementing and unifying our cultural and artistic front.

The plenum on ideological issues should contribute to that. Its conclusions must proceed from an objective analysis of the existing state of affairs, from an accurate assessment of the forces of which our ideological front is made up. By doing that, we will link onto the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, we will activate the entire party as a truly political and intellectual vanguard of society. It is understandable that the plenum on ideological issues will not clarify everything. I would rather say that it will pave the way for the solution of the most topical and most urgent problems, and for the offensive approach for which we all are rightly calling.

Proceeding Purposefully and With Determination [subhead]

The shift of the linchpin to ideological issues, to the struggle for the mind, attitude, and ethics of man, for socialist values—this is an urgent need at present, an exceptionally important task. This is a key matter today, which logically requires greater activity from the cultural and artistic community. We rely on it, we count on the social and civic responsibility of artists, of all cultural workers. It is, in particular, the Communists who must feel this responsibility, Communists who are active in that sphere. Precisely they must act with the greatest initiative, purposefully, and decisively. Should they begin hesitating, confusedly run from one spot to another, become overpowered by concern that, perhaps, the time has come when one has to think about saving himself, the time in which one can expect only unpleasant surprises, in such a case we can hardly count with a genuine activation of the cultural and artistic front.

Here, of course, the party leadership must show—and I am not afraid to use the word—firmness. This is not a sort of dogmatic demand. It is a primary duty that has arisen precisely because a "reassessment of values" has been occurring, an analysis of criteria, sharp criticism of various theses and assertions, that were regarded in the past as being beyond doubt. In this situation we must be particularly interested in having the system of values from which we proceed be authoritative. This system of values should not have an enforced authority, but authority given by the quality of these values. The plenum on ideological issues should contribute to the strengthening of the authority of the system of values, of our socialist and communist ideals, of the ideas of Leninism, which inspire us in our work. The plenum

should help us to launch a new, true offensive throughout the ideological sphere, throughout the country's political life in order that the party and society is certain that we are advancing in the clear awareness of the objectives ahead of us, with the profound conviction that these objectives can be realized, with the awareness that we have something from the past to lean on, that we are realizing restructuring here, in Czechoslovakia, in combination with the ideals with which we joined the party a long time ago, with which we carried out the revolution and began building socialism.

We would not be able to fulfill this task without the cultural and artistic front, without creative cooperation with it.

The resoluteness and firmness of our course are also important for winning over the young generation. Only by such an active attitude can we impress it and make it join the process of restructuring. Here, too, the firmness of our views will have an effect, the degree to which we will know what we want, the degree to which it will be evident that the leading position of the Communist Party in our society is historically legitimate, and that this place will belong to it also in the future.

We are aware that criticism, which has been increasing, is necessarily connected with overcoming what did not succeed in the past. We must be all the more sensitive to attacks on the values of socialism which we want to strengthen in the process of restructuring. I fully agree with the way Comrade Sequens spoke about this. The values of socialism are not valid for 20 or 40 years only. After all, they are the culmination of the struggles of our nations for their freedom, struggles which they waged for centuries. By means of these struggles they have joined mankind's culture, civilization. From the beginning we saw in this the purpose of socialist revolution—as the culmination of the struggles for the life of the working man in real freedom, in freedom from exploitation and also from spiritual darkness, in freedom which makes it possible for the working man to become master of his fate. Our present day restructuring links onto that. We do not see in it an interruption of historical development, we do not think that the history of socialism has only begun with the realization of restructuring. This in no way belittles the need to put radically an end to what deforms socialism, particularly to bureaucratism and the administrative methods of management, which do not take into account man's creativity and initiative.

Democratization, especially the formation of socialist self-management, applies to the art unions too. In these unions their members and artists must have matters in their own hands in order to assert the values of socialism and, currently, also to oppose the danger of the deterioration of the fundamental criteria that determine the quality of these values.

The Main Tasks of Cultural Policy [subhead]

In this connection I would like, at least very briefly, to touch upon the main tasks of our cultural policy and the responsibilities in the process of its implementation which we have in mind.

First—we must protect, safeguard, and make accessible the fruits of culture and the arts of the past epochs. This applies to the national as well as world art, the national as well as world culture. This is an immense task. The socialist revolution took it seriously from the start. Let us recall Klement Gottwald, who in 1948 underscored this task as a part of our society's democratization. When drawing up the balance sheet, I think we will be able to note much that has been positive in safeguarding and making accessible the fruits of culture and the arts. Our state did not spare resources in that respect. But even so, here, too, we owe much. We must analyze this and gradually repay these debts. We will be judged according to that in the future.

Second—our cultural policy must create the necessary conditions for us not only to safeguard what has been created, but also for us to continue to create. The cultural policy of the socialist state must ensure such freedom of this creativity which is connected with high social and civic responsibility of an artist.

And this is connected with another main task—forming a front of creative intelligentsia as a component of the working people, which concentrates on building a new society. With all its multifacetedness, this front should constitute an integrated whole and help to mold a new man, the man of the socialist society with a corresponding philosophy of life and ethics. It was said here that in this respect this work faces many dangers which we must not underestimate. I still would like to stress, in particular, our responsibility to the young generation and children.

Criticism of television and the mass media in general was also voiced here. I am convinced that leading comrades who are responsible for the work of these media will seriously consider those reminders. The management of television is aware that television is there for the whole of society, and that a committed socialist artist and his works must have their place in it.

The cultural policy must also see to it that works of art are permanently evaluated by knowledgable, principled, and, at the same time, unusually sensitive critics. This is of importance particularly today, when there is a general trend toward mediocrity, and when it is impossible to separate the wheat from the chaff at first glance. Of course, criticism is not only something for professional critics who are active in the media. At the time when we identify ourselves with the Leninist policy of openness, the working man, for whom works of art are meant, should have a greater say in criticism. Here I mean a man who is interested in culture, the arts, and education, man who needs culture and the arts to live.

And, finally, cultural policy also must ensure material resources for the development of culture and the arts, for creative activities. This was particularly discussed, for example, in connection with the difficult situation which exists in Prague regarding space suitable for the interpretation of music. Comrade Holzknecht wrote very responsibly about the difficulties and grave problems of musical education in LITERARNI MESICNIK. His article was later reprinted in RUDE PRAVO. We must pay attention to such critical voices. You do not always need hundreds of millions of korunas worth of resources to rectify matters. Sometimes more understanding for the needs of the arts, and of culture in general, would be enough. And, at the same time, there is no need to let oneself be driven into a position of a pauper who cannot afford to live like a cultured person. Our society is not so badly off that it cannot resolve urgent problems that might arise regarding material equipment for the cultural and artistic base.

I am convinced that the ideological plenum will help us here, too—already by leading to the enhancement of respect for creative work.

Appreciating the Work of the Sphere of Education [subhead]

In combination with this plenum we also want to hold a session of the party Central Committee on education—perhaps at the beginning of next year. The preparations for this plenum have already begun. There has been much criticism of the work of schools. I think that the criticism is justified. With changes in education we wanted to resolve too many things at once, and sometimes we have induced problems. Shortcomings in artistic education were rightly mentioned here. An analysis of the situation in education has been worked out, and the appropriate document will be published in UCITELSKE NOVINY. We want to launch a broad discussion on education, we want our public to express its opinion on the work of the sphere of education, and we will—understandably—draw conclusions from the discussion. We must properly appreciate the work of the sphere of education. We boast about our sphere of education, and are one of the few states that teaches only 5 days a week and, at the same time, incessantly disrupts the teaching process. After all, schools do not exist for the youth being taught in them to gather potatoes and pick hops for farmers, to clean our forests, and such like. The young people do not go to school to be looked after by it instead of by their parents. It is astonishing what irresponsibility and indifference is being displayed toward education in a period when we are saying that our entire future will depend on it. And it will really depend on the education and upbringing of young people. It seems, however, that we do not want to fully realize this, that we do not proceed from this in practice.

Artist as Citizen [subhead]

And, finally, one more remark. It concerns artists' civic commitment. We can all witness how in the Soviet Union today—and this is a positive thing, even though it is connected with some excesses—the cultural front, artists, especially writers, but also others, are engaging themselves in civic affairs, how they are interested in everything that is going on in society, and with what vigilance they follow ecology or moral education, relations among people, everything on which the success of restructuring is contingent. Who else but a writer, artist, a man who knows the value of life, can speak in an informed way about these issues.

There must be better coordination between art unions and the media. Asking an artist what he writes and what conditions he has for his work is not enough. The artistic front must become involved in constructive criticism, in the entire restructuring process. An artist's authority is not limited just to his work. It is also the result of what he has to say or offer to society, of the way he influences public opinion. We wish that all our citizens would become fully involved in the process of restructuring, which we have already begun to implement and which we intend to implement honestly and in full accordance with our needs, traditions, and the mentality of our people. The cultural front must help with this and act accordingly. And in this respect we must also chose new forms and methods of work.

Austrian Chancellor Ends Official Visit 16 Jun

LD1606183488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 16 Jun (ADN)—Dr Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria, has ended his official 3-day visit to the GDR. He returned to Vienna by air this evening.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, gave his guest a warm send-off at Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport, with good wishes for further successful work.

Dr Franz Vranitzky expressed thanks for the hospitality extended to him and his entourage in the GDR, and reciprocated the good wishes, saying he is confident that there will be further fruitful cooperation. Dr Franz Vranitzky extended an invitation to pay an official visit to Austria, which Erich Honecker accepted with thanks.

Other responsible officials of the GDR party and state leadership were also present at the military farewell ceremony.

SED-SPD Security Policy Working Group Meets

LD1506165088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1139 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jun (ADN)—The SED Central Committee-SPD Bundestag joint working group on questions of security policy in Europe met in Berlin today for its fifth session. It continued the discussions on stability in Europe at the lowest possible level of weapons and armed forces, and on the dismantling of asymmetries on both sides.

The joint working group welcomed the Moscow meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, as an important step toward improving relations between the two world powers. It hoped that an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons can be achieved by the fall.

The working group greeted the exchange of ratification documents for the INF Treaty, which is leading to a complete dismantling of these missiles. The working group gave particular attention to the opportunities for trust-creating structures in Europe, which could arise from additional trust-building measures. It continued to work on its own proposals for this.

The next meeting of the working group will take place on 7 July 1988 in Bonn.

Taking part in the discussion in Berlin were:

For the SED: Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Dr Manfred Uschner, deputy director of a department of the Central Committee and secretary of the Foreign Policy Commission in the Politburo; Professor Dr Manfred Mueller, director of the Basic Questions Department at the Institute for International Relations at Potsdam-Babelsberg; Dr Guenter Hillmann, section director in the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and Karl-Heinz Wagner, staff member of the SED Central Committee.

For the SPD: Egon Bahr, chairman of the Subcommittee for Disarmament and Arms Control in the German Bundestag, and member of the SPD Presidium; Karsten D. Voigt, chairman of the chemical disarmament working group, representative of the SPD Bundestag group in the Foreign Committee, and member of the SPD National Executive; Erwin Horn, representative of the SPD Bundestag group in the Defense Committee; and Wolfgang Wiemer, consultant for the SPD Bundestag group.

Gerhard Mueller Speaks at SED CC Plenum

AU1406173488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Jun 88 p 5

[Speech by Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, at the SED Central Committee plenum in East Berlin on 10 June]

[Excerpts] Dear comrades, the first 5 months of 1988 have elapsed. They clearly confirm what Comrade Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary, said in his important speech to the first secretaries of kreis leaderships on 12 February: The year 1988 will be a decisive year from various viewpoints. The fact that decisions are currently taking shape which are of the greatest importance for the progress of international developments and for the destiny of humanity has bestowed a decisive role on questions of security and peace, and of strengthening socialism in discussions with and among the working people.

We, the Communists, and all citizens of Erfurt Bezirk, have followed with keen interest the fourth meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, and U.S. President Reagan

Each Step Toward Disarmament Requires Persistent Struggle by All Peace Forces [subhead]

We agree with Comrade Erich Honecker that everything that was agreed upon and initiated in Moscow with the mandate of the Soviet Union's allies makes peace more secure. This holds especially true for the exchange of instruments of ratification on the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, because it marked the beginning of nuclear disarmament. However, we realize that each additional step forward toward disarmament can be taken solely on the basis of the steady struggle by the socialist states and all peace forces against the forces of imperialism, which still

support military superiority and "nuclear deterrence." With satisfaction the citizens from all strata of our population note the positive worldwide response that the Berlin International Meeting on Nuclear-Free Zones has earned. They view this as a great success of our policy, which is aimed at dialogue with all forces endowed with reason and realism, and as a result of the high international prestige and appreciation of Comrade Erich Honecker. Knowing that the comprehensive strengthening of socialism and the ever closer cooperation among the socialist states are decisive prerequisites for safeguarding peace, our working people are following with keen interest the developments in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries.

They are aware that the Soviet Union is speeding up socioeconomic development and that socialist democracy has to be developed to a greater extent in order to capitalize more effectively on the inherent potential of socialism and to improve the standard of living of all Soviet peoples. On the basis of our own experience, they are also aware that the forms and methods of socialist construction in the socialist countries are becoming more and more multifaceted. Our working people fully agree with the positive development of relations between the SED and the Communist Party of China, and between the GDR and the PRC. They view this as an important factor for the struggle for peace, the strengthening of socialism, and also for the further economic development of the GDR.

The conclusions drawn by our party organizations and working collectives from international developments are as follows: What is currently most important for the working people in all socialist countries is to turn the workplace into the battleground for peace and to work properly and diligently, because only thus can the influence of socialism in the world and its attractiveness be increased, and only thus can the working and living conditions of the working people of the socialist countries be further improved. The political and social activity in the Erfurt Bezirk, as in fact throughout the GDR, is determined by the successful implementation of the decisions of our 11th SED Congress and the fulfillment of the tasks mentioned in the speech made by the general secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, to the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships. Our working people's profound trust in the party and in its policy aimed at the well-being of our people and at safeguarding peace, and the readiness of the working people to implement this sound policy by working diligently every single day, was demonstrated by the citizens in our bezirk during the impressive May Day parades. Day by day they successfully turn this stance into deeds in combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions under the slogan of "great achievements for the benefit of the people and peace—everything for the implementation of the 11th SED Congress."

Our Society Needs Dynamic Economic Growth [subhead]

The working people are aware that further construction of the developed socialist system in the GDR requires steady continuation of the policy aimed at the main task of achieving unity between economic and social policy, at the further development of socialist democracy, and especially at dynamic economic growth. [passage omitted]

The Annual Output of Electrical Circuits Increased Twofold Since 1985 [subhead]

The 11th SED Congress has put forward the task of turning Erfurt Bezirk into a highly technological center. Ever since, we have been working consistently and successfully to fulfill this task. The following facts confirm this: In 1985, that is, in the last year before the 11th SED Congress, we produced 19.2 million electrical circuits. In 1988 this number will amount to 38.7 million, that is, twice as many. In 1985 we produced 7,500 personal computers and 40,000 printers, while in 1988 these figures will amount to 28,000 personal computers and 112,600 printers. In 1985 we produced 670,000 pocket calculators, in 1988 we will produce 820,000. In 1985 we produced 22,000 electronic typewriters, and in 1988 we will produce 150,000.

In this connection, one has to bear in mind that not just an increase in amounts, but especially a basic change in the quality of these products, characterized these years. In the first 5 months of 1988 the Erfurt microelectronic workers increased net production by 171.1 percent and labor productivity by 163.6 percent, increasing production of electrical circuits to 1.5 million units.

A modern and productive microelectronic center is being erected in southeast Erfurt. Two chip factories are already in operation, while plants III and IV, as well as the research center and social facilities, are under construction. A new housing area with all necessary educational, trade, cultural, and social facilities is being erected at the same time.

The main task for Erfurt microelectronic workers in 1988 is the mass production of 64 kilobyte memory circuits. The working collective that is achieving this great performance incorporates 290 working people whose average age is 24; 40 percent are women and 46 percent are Communists. We are also progressing properly on development of microprocessors.

The Embargo Policy Failed Because of the Capability of the GDR Working People [subhead]

I do not want to hide the fact that to write this down and talk about all this is easier than to actually do it. These results are based on the devoted, dedicated, and disciplined work of hundreds of Communists and thousands of workers, engineers, and scientists. The results of this work also make something else clear, namely, that the embargo policy of imperialism, that was to hamper our mastery of high technology, has been a failure. It has

failed because of the capability and working morale of our workers, engineers, and scientists, and because of our party's wise policy aimed at the development of science and technology.

In the past months, we have carried out extensive political mass work in order to mobilize all citizens of our bezirk to further successfully implement the 11th SED Congress decisions in the key year of 1988. What was especially at stake for us was to give an impetus—from all viewpoints—to the working people's creativity and their will to work and produce, to their knowledge and professional mastery, their receptivity to what is new, and to such qualities as diligence, trustworthiness, order, and discipline.

Our experience proves that we are successful when the working people have a comprehensive knowledge of our party's policy and when they feel that they themselves influence the development of things decisively. In this respect, we make use of daily talks at the workplace and of monthly discussions by leading party, state, and enterprise officials within working collectives, youth brigades, and at the quarterly forums held by residents, and we make use of many other possibilities.

In assessing the meeting of our bezirk party aktiv on youth policy and on support for the "FDJ Pledge GDR 40," leading officials have begun monthly discussions with young people in all 800 youth clubs. There is a great response to this action by young people. Therefore, we will make this practice part of our political mass activity.

On the basis of Central Committee principles, we are currently preparing purposefully for party elections. The bezirk and kreis leaderships are focusing mainly on further strengthening the combat strength of basic organizations and on increasing the activity of each Communist.

A good premise for the preparations for the party elections lies in the party member meetings on the subject, "Every Communist, a fighter on the ideological front," which were held in all party organizations in April.

They have convincingly proved that our comrades are prepared to mobilize all their strength, knowledge, and capability to implement our party's sound policy. The basic organizations have critically taken issue with those party members whose activity is lacking.

We are paying great attention to the cadres' preparation for the party elections. It is our goal to elect the best Communists to the party leaderships, both experienced and young people, who are respected by the working people.

In these party elections it is also our goal to enable the party organizations to fully do justice to their political leading role in the social development of the area for which they are responsible, and to implement all Central Committee decisions. This requires conscientious preparations for the elections with the secretaries and party leaderships of basic organizations, and it requires comprehensive support for the basic organizations by members of bezirk and kreis leaderships, by coworkers of the party apparatus, and by other comrades holding leading positions.

On the other hand, we will make these party elections the concern of our whole nation. We are fully convinced that the party election will give rise to numerous new initiatives aimed at the further successful implementation of the 11th SED Congress' decisions. Therefore, I can also assure the Central Committee that the bezirk organizations and all working people of Erfurt Bezirk will conscientiously fulfill the tasks of the national economy and of all areas of social activity in the key year of 1988, and in the preparations for the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

Five Arrested in Budapest Demonstration

LD1606181688 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Here is a police announcement: This afternoon, a group of people who had actively participated in events of October 1956 gathered in the city center despite prior warning by the police. Using slogans hostile to the system, they tried to influence a crowd of about 350-400 people. In order to maintain public order, the police took the necessary measures. During the course of these, they detained Sandor Racz, Gabor Demszky, (Roza Bodosan), Jenoe Nagy, and Peter Egetoe—all Budapest residents.

Demonstrators, Police Clash

AU1706082488 Paris AFP in English 0554 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] Vienna, June 17 (AFP)—Fourteen protes[illegible] commemorating the 30th anniversary of the executio[illegible] Hungary's premier at the time of the 1956 uprising were beaten by police in Budapest late Thursday, a dissident said.

Philosophy teacher Gaspar Miklos Tamas told the AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE bureau here over the phone that he and 13 others had been manhandled by police after demonstrating in the afternoon near the city centre.

Two dissidents, Gabor Demszky and his wife Roza Hodosan, who both work for the publishers Samizdat AB, were handcuffed, struck in the face, clubbed on the neck, thrown to the floor and held in police cells in Budapest's fifth district overnight, Mr. Tamas said.

He said he and the other demonstrators were arrested during the demonstration in memory of Imre Nagy, but were released in the evening.

Trouble had started during the demonstration when he had got ready to read a speech protesting at arrests of dissidents, he said, adding that six policemen had then jumped him and sprayed tear gas in his eyes.

Hungary's official news agency MTI said five people had been arrested during the protest by some 400 people. Dissidents said more than 1,000 had turned up.

Mr. Nagy was hanged on June 16, 1958, with two colleagues, for pulling Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact and appealing to the United Nations for aid as head of a coalition government during an anti-Stalinist uprising which started in October 1956.

Nyers Discusses Leadership Shuffle

LD1706134988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Rezso Nyers has given an interview about the composition of the party's Politburo that was elected in May and about prospects for the renewal of society and the economy. The 65-year-old politician, who has just returned to the Politburo, was the man in charge within the party of the economic reform of 1968, as Central Committee secretary. But in the early seventies he was first relieved of office and then removed from the Politburo as well. He has now given an interview to the weekly HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, which reacts most sensitively to current political and economic processes. These are the two reasons why the interview deserves special attention.

Rezso Nyers said that the main feature of the executive body of the Central Committee, the 11-strong Politburo, which had undergone a more than 50 percent change just now and a fall in the number of its members, was its diversity in both attitudes and styles. The previous Politburo, 5 of whose 13 members had not even been elected to the Central Committee at the party conference at the end of May, had represented a unity of style. But according to Rezso Nyers, all that was needed was that members should agree on a political direction, everyone should be able to have a personal opinion, and the flow of information should become freer in all directions.

To what can one attribute the extent of renewal in the higher leadership at the party conference, he was asked? Rezso Nyers is of the opinion that the main reason was that the party membership wanted to see fresh people in the leading posts who were not responsible for the economic policy of recent years, that is, for the halting of the reforms. And in the persons of those elected the desire was expressed that the renewal of the economy should continue.

Conditions for this were not as good now as they had been 2 decades ago. At that time the majority of the population had a more positive attitude to the reform, as they had not sensed the personal insecurity that could be felt now. On the other hand, said Rezso Nyers, a wide circle of economic leaders regarded the reforms as much more unavoidable now than at the end of the sixties. These were the very people who had tripped up the reform after 1972, by forcing the top political leadership to backtrack. But the middle-level leadership had not recognized—for lack of any other alternative—that without a more effective economic management it could not retain its favorable position.

As for the social and political changes closely linked to the transformation of the economic restructuring, Rezso Nyers said that voluntary associations or interest group organizations that adhered to the Constitution and the legal order could fit well into political democracy based on a one-party system.

The present party leadership was of the view that the simultaneous assertion of diverse interests was not impossible, and there were also advantages in the supervision of the government by parliament and of the party by the society, said Rezso Nyers, member of the Politburo, in an interview with HETI VILAGGAZDASAG.

Pozsgay Discusses Government Changes
PM0606093088 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 2 Jun 88 p 17

[Interview with MSZMP Politburo member Imre Pozsgay by Andrea Tarquini; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[Introductory passage omitted] [Tarquini] Dr Pozsgay, how is your smiling optimism to be reconciled with the institutional crisis that you describe?

[Pozsgay] I perceive positive elements in the actual political character of the crisis. Though one factor in the crisis is the loss of confidence in the party, our new energies can help us regain it on the basis of a new consensus. I hope the time is coming increasingly near when we communists will no longer presume to have a monopoly on the truth and when all opinions can be considered equal.

[Tarquini] What will be the limits of the 'socialist democracy' that you advocate?

[Pozsgay] It is not easy to perceive now the precise limits of an emergent process. It would be wrong for me to outline now the exact characteristics of the institutional reforms and of the new systems of guarantees for the citizens, which we all need. I do know, however, that we will have to build a new system of government legality and legitimacy within the framework of socialism.

[Tarquini] Will democracy still be socialist at that point? Before resigning Kadar railed against "bourgeois democracy." How would the "socialist democracy" that you postulate differ from "bourgeois democracy"?

[Pozsgay] I like to talk about democracy, period—democracy without adjectives. I consider it possible to maintain the present system—a historical heritage, I repeat, whose immediate overthrow would threaten our stability, however—while meanwhile trying to build something new: a new platform of freedom within the party and for the citizen. I believe democracy is rooted in human civilization and I cannot imagine the survival of a European culture without democracy and solidarity. This is the very reason why I do not like to talk about democracy with the addition of any adjectives. Why not, if anything, turn "democracy" into an adjective and talk in terms of democratic socialism?

[Tarquini] Democratic socialism with a single party?

[Pozsgay] I repeat that it is necessary to proceed from an acknowledgment that the party's errors are the cause of the economic crisis and of the crisis of political confidence with which Hungary is grappling. It is also necessary to create a system of democracy within the party that will make it possible to develop the debate. In other words, we need communists who will take initiatives—not merely excellent executors.

[Tarquini] Do you have in mind various currents or factions within the communist party?

[Pozsgay] No, not factions, but various groups of opinion. There must be an open exchange between leaders within the party—not a power struggle but a comparison of views in order to share not the power but the sacrifices.

[Tarquini] In this regard do you advocate an abandonment of the Leninist principle of 'government through the people'?

[Pozsgay] To govern together with the people, to restore people's confidence in the party [sentence as published]. In other words, to have a party and a country in which there are no longer winners and losers or impossible or paralyzing compromises between major figures. As Lajos Kossuth (the great 19th century Hungarian patriot—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) said, the country now needs people who will not hesitate to take decisive steps, people who realize that the system as it is and as it has developed is now useless.

[Tarquini] How is this realization to be reconciled with the defense of a single-party system?

[Pozsgay] Through gradual institutional reforms that will establish a system of guarantees and rights of minorities—all minorities. With rules and laws that will protect citizens and party members against abuses of power, with laws on freedoms that are observed even when the result of their observance proves awkward for the party itself. Only through such a network of examples of community of interest can we create an efficient kind of socialism attractive to the public.

[Tarquini] What about ther promise of a more liberal attitude toward dissenters and independent groups?

[Pozsgay] It is primarily a hope that the party will manage to abandon its current defensive stance—a conditioned reflex resulting from fear on the part of those who know they no longer enjoy people's confidence. The emergence of certain independent groups is primarily an indictment of our political lag in understanding society. Under such conditions "administrative measures," legal provisions, are virtually or entirely useless.

[Tarquini] Just a moment: You were talking previously only about democracy within the party; now this is being extended to other political groups active in the country. Or am I mistaken?

[Pozsgay] No, I repeat: The most important thing is for us communists to properly recognize the people's dissatisfaction with the present institutions and to realize that without freedom Hungary cannot keep pace with or bridge the gap with the more advanced part of Europe. I will quote Kossuth again, for which I apologize, because I remember your complaining that Hungary's political culture has traditionally always lagged behind by some years. Perhaps now we can show that for once Kossuth was wrong. You know, we are like peasants who have just arrived in the city. We will not find the right road at once but that does not mean that we will lose our way....

[Tarquini] Yes, but who will help you not to lose your way? New organizations? What will happen to your monopoly on power?

[Pozsgay] Again I express the hope that soon in Hungary all opinions will enjoy equal status. I would add that since there are less than 1 million communist party members out of a total of approximately 10 million inhabitants, we must ensure that nonparty members stop feeling like some kind of second class citizens and participate fully in political life. With regard to institutional reforms, we are at the stage of planning scenarios.

[Tarquini] Would you care to outline some of these scenarios....

[Pozsgay] Well, I have in mind a party that will dissociate itself from day-to-day government activity and grant the government more scope for decisionmaking, and the government would be really answerable to parliament....

[Tarquini] Do you mean a single-party and unicameral parliament dominated by the communists, as at present?

[Pozsgay] No, I have in mind a different kind of parliament in which the communists can be flanked by representatives of other interests. I do not know whether it makes better sense to deal with this right away and to call them "parties" or to talk, rather, in terms of independents, "corporations," groups. As for the number of houses, why rule out consideration of an upper house reserved for a majority of communists and having the right of veto, albeit only on the basic socialist character of the system, and a lower house in which several voices can make themselves heard and formulate law as full-time professional politicians with long sessions and a debate, as in the West? Of course for this a new constitution is needed, but we are discussing it.

[Tarquini] What would remain unconstitutional?

[Pozsgay] Very few essentials, such as proposals aimed at phasing out socialism. Not, however, the condemnation of 10 years of wrong policy and of the consequences that the country has had to suffer. In other words, we have in mind a society that will remain socialist but within which the expressions of the real country are not only indulgently tolerated but legally recognized. To draw a parallel with Italy, if in your country a government makes mistakes it falls, whereas in our country if the government makes mistakes hitherto it is society that has paid for them. So this must change, with the result of making citizens more secure and leaders less so.

[Tarquini] Why do you continue to defend the single party system?

[Pozsgay] For one single reason, that has remained valid, at least hitherto—the defense of European stability in a small country that has over the decades exhausted its capacity for surviving disasters. I stress, however, that there must be areas of the citizen's life that the state cannot enter.

[Tarquini] Would it not be a good thing to rewrite the history of Imre Nagy?

[Pozsgay] This is what the public hopes will be done as soon as possible.

[Tarquini] What is your overall assessment of the Kadar era?

[Pozsgay] Mine is a positive assessment overall: It was after all an era that permitted the growth of reformist currents and permitted their application to the country's political life. Of course no politician can expect people not to discuss his past after his retirement, but we will be generous with him.

[Tarquini] Many commentators are talking about a "Hungarian spring" and likening you to a Hungarian Dubcek. Are you sure that you will not meet the same fate as Dubcek?

[Pozsgay] I do not like comparisons and can only repeat that which was destabilizing in Prague at that time will now be stabilizing for us and our allies 20 years later. The parallels between our present reform, China's reforms, and perestroyka are certainly no coincidence. I regard this whole as an irreversible process. If I am mistaken, however, well, we could regard it as an episode in the life of socialism. My hope lies with the young generations, however. [passage omitted]

Tasks of New Party Bodies Discussed

AU1606142788 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 23/3 Jun 88 p 25

[Article by Ference Varnai: "MSZMP—Changing Spheres of Authority—Stress on Policy—Increasing Independence"]

[Text] The decisions of the MSZMP National Conference and the consequences of the considerable rejuvenation and revitalizing carried out in the leading bodies

will continue to affect the party, state life, and social organizations for some time to come. However, one can already see that the party's concept of starting the renewal of political institutions with its own ranks is not limited to just personnel changes. Particularly important steps have been taken in this area since 22 May.

Considerable changes are under way first of all in reorganizing the scope of the Central Committee and its executive body, the Politburo, and of the central party apparatus.

Executive Bodies [subhead]

The 108-member Central Committee is expected to hold a meeting in the second half of June to adopt a work program aimed at implementing the tasks stipulated by the policy statement of the party conference, a work program which will be valid until the 14th MSZMP Congress set for in 1990. (The Central Committee meetings will be chaired by Janos Kadar in his position as chairman of the party, but he will no longer carry out operative tasks and is no longer a member of the executive body, the Politburo.)

According to the plans, the Central Committee will become a more active body which will be engaged in politics more than before. This means that this, the highest guiding body of the party operating during the period between congresses, will decide on matters that affect the entire MSZMP and will take an authoritative position on domestic and foreign policy, cultural, and ideological issues that affect all society or most of the society.

All this requires that instead of the current four or occasionally five annual meetings, the Central Committee will be expected to meet more frequently and to consider the opinions of all the party members and of the district party organizations, as well as the proposals of various scientists prior to making decisions on major issues.

The MSZMP National Conference Policy Statement stipulates that an advisory body be established so that the Central Committee and district party committee decisions will have a multifaceted basis. The Central Committee needs such a body so it can make better use of the experience of those who have been taking part over the struggle for power and in the struggle for socialist construction in the last 3 decades. Proposals on the composition and operation of this body are to be prepared in the near future. (Among the fraternal parties, a similar advisory body functions within the CPC.)

Among the members of the rejuvenated Politburo, there are only three persons (Karoly Grosz, Csaba Hamori, and Istvan Szabo) who have been members of this body since the 13th MSZMP Congress in 1985. Two members—Janos Berecz and Judit Csehak—were elected to the Politburo last year. (Rezso Nyers was a member for 10 years close to 15 years ago.)

This sole executive body of the Central Committee is expected to become a more operative body. Plans are that in the future the Politburo will function primarily as a workshop in charge of preparing the Central Committee meetings which shape the party policy, and as a body which makes less closed political decisions.

The Politburo's sphere of authority will be determined not only by the more active policy-shaping role of the Central Committee but also by the fact that it does not intend to deal with the numerous issues which the government and public organizations have authority for, in order to put an end to the current situation in which the government, the other state authorities, and the various public organizations frequently forced the Politburo to deal with various issues, and the discussion of these issues and the decisions made by the Politburo released these bodies from having to be responsible for these issues. This practice will also cease in other areas too. The Politburo will no longer replace the lower district and other party organs in deciding how to discuss the nation-wide decisions made by the Central Committee or the Politburo or how to implement these decisions. Local party organs themselves should decide on these issues, a practice will also urge them to achieve greater independence.

These changes in the sphere of authority might lead to a situation in which a more flexible work system will replace the current regular Politburo meetings held every other week.

The Politburo meetings are chaired by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz. Central Committee secretaries who are not Politburo members, the chairman of the Central Control Committee, and the chief editor of NEPSZABADSAG are regularly invited to the Politburo meetings.

Just like the other members of the Central Committee, the chairman of the party can participate—at his own request but without the right to vote—in Politburo meetings that discuss issues that concern him.

The Role Played by the Secretaries [subhead]

Since its functions can be eliminated or handed over to others, the new Central Committee eliminated the Secretariat from its executive bodies.

The Central Committee Secretariat has fulfilled three functions up to now.

First: It made decisions concerning the practical activity of district party organs. This practice will be discontinued in the future in order to increase the local organs' independence and to see to it that fewer central decisions burden the lower party organs.

Second: The Secretariat used to make decisions on the coordination of the tasks of the party's central apparatus. This practice will become redundant since there will be an increase in the personal responsibility of Central Committee secretaries in the areas under their authority. Of course, the elimination of the Secretariat does not exclude the possibility of the Central Committee secretaries coordinating their activity or having a secretary in charge of an operative coordination. (So far, this task has been carried out by the deputy general secretary, but this position was eliminated following the party conference.)

Third: The Secretariat used to have authority in certain personnel questions. (For example, approving a Central Committee subdepartment head, political staff member, the county party committee secretary, and some state and economic positions.) In order to increase the independence and responsibility of really competent bodies, the relevant personnel issues will also be within their authority. This practice will radically reduce the Secretariat's authority, and some decisionmaking rights concerning personnel issues will be taken over by the Politburo.

Without Patronizing [subhead]

The change in the tasks of elected central and district bodies will also lead to an essential modification of the functions, organizational structure, and operation of the party apparatus. Since the leading bodies of the party will want to conduct broad and professional preliminary consultations in shaping the policy in accordance with the requirements, this will obviously require a more professional, and at the same time less specialized apparatus. The fact that the elected bodies are definitely in charge of both guidance and supervision on all levels is also a factor in this.

It follows from all these that the operation of various bodies built from the top to the bottom will cease. The territorial and local party organs will have a free hand in building up their own apparatus and in working out their work methods.

The Central Committee does not intend to interfere in the activity of the leading bodies of government and legislative organs and public organizations or to patronize the lower organs of the party.

Over the last 4 decades, almost everybody has gotten used to central decisions on operative tasks. Under the new requirements, the MSZMP Central Committee demands now that—within the framework of the political guidelines—every party leader, party worker, and every party member should represent the party policy more independently, courageously, and responsibly and to openly and uniformly represent the position formulated in the wake of the democratic preparations made by the elected party organs.

Such attitude will also encourage the other, non-party members of the population, for action. [The following table appears in the body of the item]

Central Committee Members:		
According to age	Number of people	Percentage
Under 40	13	12.0
41-50	35	32.5
51-60	37	34.3
Over 60	23	21.3
According to the time of becoming a party member:		
Before liberation	9	8.3
1945-56	34	31.5
1957-61	10	9.3
1962-69	32	29.6
1970-79	19	17.6
1980-84	4	3.7
According to duration of membership in the body:		
1956-57	7	6.5
1958-69	6	5.6
1970-79	13	12.0
1980-87	45	41.6
From 1988	37	34.3
According to territorial distribution:		
At national bodies	54	50
At Budapest bodies	16	14.8
At provincial bodies	38	35.2

Independent Groups Activities Discussed

PM0806131088 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Jun 88 p 14

[Andrea Tarquini dispatch: "Grosz' '100 Flowers'"]

[Text] Budapest—They meet openly almost every day and are not afraid to mix with other people. They are the party revisionists, academics, angry young writers, and pacifists. They meet in their own fine homes on the Hill of the Roses or downtown in the British Club, where THE INDEPENDENT and THE FINANCIAL TIMES are available on newspaper holders, and they sit between one table of businessmen and another occupied by a group of eye-catching girls. They give talks at the Hajnal Cafe on People's Republic Avenue and make telephone calls to the West whenever they want. This is reported in the morning papers that arrive daily on the table of a quiet office on the top floor of a tall, ugly gray building. Sitting at the mahogany desk lit by windows overlooking Engels Square, a man looking like a young Joseph Cotten is reading and signing papers, tiredly repeating: "Let them be." His name is Istvan Horvath and he is the interior minister. The morning papers keep him informed of the unpredictable in a Hungary that has just pensioned off its grand old man, Janos Kadar: "Let them

be," Horvath decrees, and so the 100 flowers of the Hungarian spring are blooming in Budapest with the government's backing. The regime is agreeing to a risky game—the risk being that freedom will lay bare its impotence.

"This varied and pluralist society wants to be recognized, not merely tolerated," was the warning from Miklos Haraszti, a writer, and Milos Vasarhely, who was culture minister under Imre Nagy. Academy of Sciences Chairman Ivan T. Berend agreed, explaining in his perfect English: "If Moscow wants to let us be, society will say: Why not accelerate? Our country has abandoned Stalinism, but not entirely."

Accelerate toward what? "Toward a slow, negotiated transition to pluralism—first a de facto pluralism, then an official pluralism," Haraszti and Vasarhely said, and their remarks reflect what is actually happening. Hungary's first independent trade union, the TDDSZ, the professionals' Solidarity, is growing by leaps and bounds. Its offices are in the elegant Korvin square in the middle of the Hapsburg quarter. "The membership is growing every day and increased from 600 to 1,500 in a week," one of the organizers, Julia Szalai admitted shyly but delightedly. The "free initiative network" which embraces everyone is growing: It wants to act as the opposition's service sector or communications center, to provide a free press and well organized contacts for all the independent groups—from those who yearn for Trotskiy or Bukharin to those who invoke the nationalist and military but semi-liberal Hungary of the pre-war years. Another growing group are the "Greens"—or, rather, the "Blues," as they are called here, in memory of a once clean Danube. A few days ago 2,000-3,000 of them paraded the streets, from the magnificent Vorosmarty Palace outside the Gerbeaud chocolate factory to the Austrian Embassy. Vienna is financing the huge dam that the Czechoslovaks are constructing jointly with the Hungarian Government at Nagymaros-Gabcikovo on the Danube and people fear ecological disasters, as though the nightmare of the 10 "post-Chernobyl" Czechoslovak nuclear power plants just north of the border were not enough. They marched and Horvath's police let them be. Just 2 days later the government established an official environmental organization in an attempt to regain control of the dissatisfaction. Conscientious objectors are about to gain the right not to serve their flag.

"The demand that they all share," Harazsti and Vasarhely said, "is for gradual negotiations toward an institutional division of powers, duties, and rights between government and society—a transition that could prove slower than Francoist Spain's to democracy but in the long term no less thorough." Is this a negotiable and acceptable demand for the government? Or will the European aspirations and nostalgia disturbing this and other communist countries eventually clash with the Soviet empire's stability and the inevitable priority of self-defense for a country short of recipes for the future?.

"We will have to see what happens when, in the wake of the first independent trade union, another 10, 100, and 1,000 are created," Vasarhely said, adding: "As long as it is just 1,500 intellectuals they can well say that they are only a trade union and do not resemble Walesa's Solidarity. But if their example is followed by workers and students grappling with austerity and the high cost of living, a chain reaction could ensue."

Is there a danger of wildcat strikes and protests, of disorders and repression? Horvath has increased the funds allocated to Hungary's "Zomo" (the riot police) but is keeping them in the barracks. Rezso Nyers said: "Yes, there is a danger of social conflicts, but no more so than in western Europe or Japan. Let us not exaggerate; let us not cite the Polish syndrome." He added: "One encouraging sign is that over Kadar's replacement the Soviets allowed us to reach our own decision. Perhaps it will be the same at other difficult moments in the future."

The difficult moments that Nyers cited, what with inflation at approximately 20 percent a year and a foreign debt of 18 billion dollars, are causing sleepless nights for Professor Berend and fellow academician Laszlo Antal, the economist who as early as 3 years ago highlighted the economic and social crisis in a secret report to the party leadership. Let us hear what else the placid Berend had to say: "The Kadar era marked a huge leap forward, within the limits imposed by the situation, with all the 'friendly warnings' from the Brezhnev's USSR, afraid that we would progress from imitating the market economy to restoring it." He added: "Too often during the Brezhnev era Hungary's reform was killed or wounded from abroad (from Moscow, that is—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note), while our own bureaucrats played their part in curbing it. Nevertheless one-third of our GDP comes from the private sector, and this proportion of produced wealth is constantly increasing, despite the new and heavy taxes recently introduced."

So, I asked Professor Berend, what is the solution? "The pursuit of 'small is beautiful,' the proliferation of small private enterprises producing services that makes certain small but efficient countries such as Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Belgium wealthy." Yes, but does economic pluralism not pose the need sooner or later for political representation of the new sectoral interests? "Yes," Berend said, "and this will be the bottleneck in the future. The party is prepared to conduct self-criticism and to gradually limit its power, but it knows that the reform of socialism is not only inevitable but also a leap in the dark."

According to those in power, there is a strong danger of the regime's legitimacy being called into question by the debate and the evolution of events. "However," Berend assured me, "we are greatly helped by positive international factors." He proceeded to list them: [no opening quotation marks, as published] China's reforms, the renewal in Moscow, and—last but not least—relations

with Germany and Austria, currently the best in Hungary's history." Bonn and Vienna are the prime trade partners not only of Budapest but of the whole of communist Europe, the foremost symbols of the "longing for Europe" that exists from Rostock to Sofia, and hitherto the most trustworthy political interlocutors apart from Sir Geoffrey Howe's Foreign Office and Reagan's America. The post-industrial Europe only just across the now semi-open borders is eliciting mixed signals, hopes, and frustrations. The only moment of doubt that Berend allowed himself was when he asked: "Where will we Hungarians, Poles, and Czechoslovaks be in 1992, when West Europe eliminates its borders and customs controls? Will we be able to be, if not like you, at least like a South Korea or a Singapore on your doorstep—we Hungarians and Czechoslovaks who patented the carburetor, the contact lens, and the Porsche engine all before 1945 and who have been part of the same culture as you for centuries?"

SZOT Board Session on Personnel Changes

LD1306201788 Budapest MTI In English 1600 GMT 13 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 13 (MTI)—At the Monday Session of the Board of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), President Sandor Gaspar and General Secretary Tibor Baranyai requested the board to present their retirement application to the SZOT plenum convened for June 21. The board commissioned a 27-strong nomination committee to work out the proposals on personnel to be submitted to the SZOT session. The statutory meeting of the Nomination Committee will be held on Tuesday under the chairmanship of Laszlo Kovacs, general secretary of the Trade Union of Mining Workers. The committee, composed of representatives of the sectoral trade unions, is to put forth its proposal on the changes in personnel after consultation with the SZOT members. Alternations in the SZOT management will be decided at consultations of various levels in the coming days.

On the way policy pursued in the period behind, the board stated that it failed to adequately serve the economic policy aims, as it restricted not only wage rises but also the increase of company performances and caused major wage tension as well. For this reason, the trade union movement has for long urged the transformation of thr wage policy and system. According to the board, there is need for substantive changes that allow for a more effective representation of the real wage interests of workers and freer wage management and contribute to economic advancement. The trade union movement considers it necessary to work out a wage policy and system that ensures a lasting, tangible and comprehensive increase of real wages and the creation of socially more just wage proportions. The wage rises should cover the price increase of basic consumer goods for all employees, it was stressed at the session.

SZOT Spokesman on Changes in TU Work

AU1506100088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Jun 88 p 5

[Interview with Ferenc Szalay, SZOT spokesman, by H. Sz.: "We Asked—How Will SZOT's Work Change?"—date and place not given]

[Text] At a briefing on topical issues of the trade union movement held on 7 June, Ferenc Szalay, spokesman of the National Trade Union Council [SZOT] said, among other things, that the trade unions should reconsider their relations with the party and the government. In this connection we asked him about the opinion of the trade unions on which issues should be solved most urgently and what opportunities were available to strengthen the protection of interests.

[Question] I think that the fact that the SZOT chairman was not elected to the MSZMP Central Committee or Politburo has in itself changed the relations between the SZOT and the political leadership. Is this advantageous or disadvantageous from the point of view of the the trade union movement?

[Szalay] This fact is both advantageous and disadvantageous. The idea of distinguishing between trade union and political functions within our movement has already been brought up earlier, too. In this way the trade unions would have a greater opportunity to develop independent opinions and represent interests. The effectiveness of the work done by the trade unions is, therefore, primarily dependent on their own activities. The difficulty is that the conditions necessary for such independence are not adequate. We should better develop the official information channels to supply the information required for the formulation of opinions. In addition, the institutional guarantees are not sufficient to decisively assert the members' interests.

[Question] A SZOT Presidium session will be held on 13 June. What will its subject be? Will personnel issues be also discussed?

[Szalay] The SZOT concept concerning the wage reform, the further development of activities aimed at supplying recreational opportunities, and preparations for the SZOT plenum to be held at the end of the month, are on the agenda of the Presidium session. Concerning personnel matters, the presidium could work out a proposal on this issue, but it is the national conference that makes decisions concerning personnel and organizational changes.

[Question] The individual trade unions have adopted quite differing positions on organizational changes. Most of them hold the opinion that the present organizational structure is also adequate under the prevailing new conditions.

[Szalay] I would rather say that a considerable number of trade unions of various branches are planning quite comprehensive organizational changes. Sections have already been established within the iron, metal, and electric power industry workers trade union, and the agricultural and forestry workers trade union. The government employees trade union will be reorganized into a federation of trade unions similar to the structure of the artistic workers trade union. An examination is under way in the teachers trade union concerning ways of representing different opinions according to their specific characteristics.

[Question] An idea was proposed in the artistic workers trade union that it should accept the recently established scientific workers democratic trade union as a member in its federation.

[Szalay] For the time being this is an idea to which the general secretary of the federation replied that he would consult with the relevant people. Now it is the turn of the scientific workers democratic trade union to answer, they also have to consider this proposal.

Vine Growers' Demonstration Discussed

AU1506084688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 June 88 p 6

[Interview with Attila Zsitva, chief gardener at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, by Ivan Gador: "Vine Scandal—The Background for the Kiskoros Demonstration—Not Everything That Resembles Wine Is Wine"—on 8 June; place not given]

[Excerpts] The scandal erupted on 7 June. About 2,000 vine growers held a demonstration in Kiskoros because the marketing organizations did not buy part of last year's crops. The future of about 40,000 hectoliters of wine became the issue. In the county there are about 400,000 liters of unsold wine. This quantity is more than enough to jeopardize the existence of the wine producers in the area. We asked Attila Zsitvai the following:

[Gador] Is the concern and indignation of the Kiskoro area vine growers justified?

[Zsitvai] Vine growers who concluded agreements in 1987 and actually offered wine for sale have no reason at all for concern. The wine marketing enterprises will buy their wine; matters should not have deteriorated this far. The financial situation of the large-scale marketing enterprises, something that must be settled immediately, is responsible for this problem. The vine growers and vine-growing cooperatives concerned are also to blame because, hoping for price increases, they did not sell their grapes in the fall of 1987. I would risk saying that prices can only be manipulated by wine, not by grapes.

[Gador] You have just said that whoever offers wine for sale need not worry. Does it transpire from this that some people want to sell something similar to wine, which is not really wine?

[Zsitvai] This is quite an assumption that can only be proved in a laboratory through scientific tests. However, the fact is that in certain areas—including the Kiskoros area—there has always been more wine than grapes produced. These "preparations" could possibly be used for distilling industry purposes at most. Anyhow, such activities are categorically forbidden by law. [passage omitted]

[Gador] The demonstrators claimed that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Trade are responsible for the marketing difficulties of the vine growers because, according to what they know, the ministries had imported 800,000-900,000 hectoliters of wine in 1987 whereas they could have known that this would lead to reducing procurement prices and to marketing difficulties.

[Zsitvai] That is right. We imported 830,000 hectoliters of wine in 1987, because when we considered the initial reserves that were available in January and the expected production of 3 million hectoliters of wine, we were not sure we would be able to fulfill the predicted demand.

[Gador] This demonstrates good foresight, but your calculations proved wrong because there are 400,000 hectoliters of unsold wine in Bacs-Kiskun County alone. This is a large quantity even if part of it is conceivably something different from wine, as evidenced by what we said earlier.

[Zsitvai] I claim that the reserves are not large; the only issue is that the large-scale wine marketing enterprises are not capable of accumulating large reserves and paying high interest rates. [passage omitted]

For 3 months we have been working on a comprehensive program of measures to be taken and we have had to coordinate multifaceted interests. Our work is practically finished and it will shortly be submitted to the Committee on Planned Economy. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on Grosz-Sindermann Talks

LD1606111188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Budapest, 15 Jun ADN—Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, was received in Budapest today for a friendly talk by Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Peoples Republic. [passage omitted]

The two politicians stressed their countries' interest in a further improvement of the international situation in which, thanks to the consistent and initiative-rich peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, a turn for the better was becoming apparent. They welcomed the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow and said it was convincing proof of what was possible when reason, realism, and goodwill gains the upper hand in international relations. The most important task now consisted in not allowing a pause in the disarmament process. The International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones to be held in Berlin from 20-22 June would also serve this goal.

Horst Sindermann ended his friendship visit this afternoon.

GDR National Front Delegation Pays Visit

AU1606113388 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Jun 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "GDR National Front Delegation Visits Hungary"]

[Text] A delegation of the GDR National Front led by Alexander Mallickh, member of the National Front Presidium and Secretariat, visited Hungary between 6 and 10 June at the invitation of the PPF National Council.

The delegation was received by PPF Secretary General Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo. The delegation held talks with PPF National Secretary Dr Bela Molnar, in the course of which the parties informed each other about topical social and economic issues in their countries and the political role played by their movements. The GDR delegation studied the situation of the Hungarian artisans and industrial enterprises, with emphasis on materials-, price-, and tax-related problems of these organizations. The guests visited artisans in Budapest and the provinces and provincial mixed and servicing cooperatives, and held an exchange of views at the Ministry of Trade.

Council of Ministers Hears Report on Romanians

LD1606212988 Budapest MTI in English 1856 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—As it was reported the Hungarian Council of Ministers had a report on the agenda at the Thursday meeting related to the activities of the inter-ministerial board involved in the handling of the foreign citizens residing in Hungary. According to the latest figures until June 10, 4,977 Romanian citizens made a statement that they do not intend to return to their country and they received a temporary residence permit. Following the session of the government Zoltan Gal, deputy minister of interior and chairman of the inter-ministerial board held a press conference in the parliament.

As he pointed out: 'The present situation evolved against our intentions. But we confess, that it is a moral and political obligation to help the Hungarians living beyond the borders if they turn to us. Naturally it is by no means a solution for an ethnic group to leave their motherland and seek living elsewhere. In this respect we should not feed illusions. The more not so, because the carrying capacity of our homeland should also be considered. For this very reason the problems of the settlers should be resolved in a way which is favourable both for the individuals and the society. The major form of aid is to provide employment opportunities which assure decent living for everyone.'

The majority of Romanian citizens residing in Hungary with temporary residence permit are skilled workers and their employment poses no serious problem.

However, housing and family unification remain as problems. Regarding the latter one the Romanian authorities refused to respond despite the intervention of the Red Cross. Family members moving to a third socialist country for the sake of family reunification also hardly holds any promise. The situation is different with the 400-500 temporary resident Romanian and German nationals who want to go to another country. If they receive a statement of acceptance the Hungarian authorities pose no problems to their departure.

This year 200 thousand Romanian citizens entered Hungary with valid passports or in the small-traffic along the borders. The number of the temporary residents might reach 10-12 thousand by the end of the year. In the case of exceeding this resettlement figure the present measures will be insufficient to handle the cases. It is feared that the latest Romanian measures related to the small settlements will push up the number of the new arrivals. In that case the temporary boarding facilities will prove to be overcrowded and camps will have to be set up.

The Hungarian Government decided on the use of the settlement fund which was opened according to the decision of the parliament. A related official government order will be released soon. The Ministry of Interior is handling the 300 million forints fund and the money is used to refund the expenses of the state and social organizations. The order stipulates the sum of the single social benefit payment to the temporary residents. The Hungarian Red Cross collected 6 million forints donations on its bank account.

Gal also called attention to the fact that the community life of the temporary residents is not free of problems. So far mainly the churches cared for the people but it is high time that the trade unions and the CYUH [Communist Youth Union of Hungary] get also involved.

Kisz CC on Demolition of Romanian Villages

LD1606204788 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—The Management Committe of the Kisz Central Committee at its Thursday session discussed the Romanian decision which

plans the demolition of hamlets and villages in Romania. On this issue the Kisz CC MC made a statement on which its foreign counterparts will be informed.

The Hungarian youth sees with anxiety the Romanian decisions of recent years which harmfully affect the nationalities of Romania. (...) For years we experienced the chain of measures (...) which limit the rights of the nationalities living in Romania. The latest decision which, referring to modernization, 'settlement restructuring', wants to demolish ancient villages is against the common sense and the humanist feelings.

(...) According to the stance of the Management Committee this process which emaciates the Hungarians, Saxons, Serbs and other national minorities but also Romanians could still be prevented. In this respect the youth have a common historical responsibility. The Central Committee of the Kisz therefore sent a letter to the Romanian Union of Communist Youth calling for an exemplary demonstration for joining the forces of the new generation.

Grosz Sends Greetings to SFRY's Mikulic

LD1006124188 Budapest MTI in English 1840 GMT 9 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister greeted in a telegram Branko Mikulic the president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on his 60th birthday.

Government Spokesman Holds News Conference

LD1606204988 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 16 Jun 88

["Government Spokesman's Press Conference"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, June 16, (MTI)—Rezso Banyasz said on the Thursday session of the Council of Ministers that the body approved the report of Karoly Grosz on his negotiations with Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister of the Republic of India.

The government was informed by the inter-ministerial commission on the handling of the affairs of foreign citizens residing in Hungary and a settlement fund was opened.

The Council of Ministers decided the guidelines of negotiation for the Hungarian delegation at the coming 44th CMEA session.

Rezso Banyasz commented on the report of Karoly Grosz on his negotiations with Rajiv Gandhi. According to the prime minister the discussions were extremely direct, cordial and friendly spirited. The intense discussion of the international situation confirmed that the opinions of the two sides coincide in each essential issue. At the expert meetings it was emphasized that the relations should be more dynamically developed especially in the economy.

CMEA [subhead]

At the government meeting the negotiation guidelines for the Hungarian delegation at the 44th CMEA session was determined. The Hungarian party wants to emphasize that the cooperation within the CMEA is a basic ingredient of the development of the Hungarian people's economy, but so far no qualitative breakthrough could have been achieved in the shaping of the multilateral economic relations. According to Hungary the speeding up of the transformation process is needed. The transformation of the mechanism is a key issue including the reforms in the currency, financial and economic systems.

The actual cooperation tasks—according to the Hungarian stance—should be solved increasingly at company level. Hungary attributes great political importance to the official relations developing between the CMEA and the European Community but for the actual economic cooperation important efforts are needed on both sides.

'Winewar' [subhead]

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers the minister of agriculture and food reported on the so-called winewar and the measures already taken or planned to be taken to alleviate the tensions. (As it was reported last week in some Hungarian wine-producing regions the farmers protested against the low producer prices, the unsold inventories and wine imports-editor). The spokesman said several measures are taken to boost wine exports and the price reducing wine producers will have the option to hold back the turnover tax. According to the ministry the creation of better cooperation between production, consumption and distribution is needed along with a better observation of the contracts. A ministerial commissioner have been appointed to handle the tensions associated with the so called wine problem.

Grosz Toast at Dinner for Koivisto

AU1006111688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jun 88 p 6

[MTI report on toast by MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz at a festive dinner in the honor of visiting Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, in parliament on 6 June: "Karoly Grosz' Toast"]

[Text] Karoly Grosz greeted the guests on behalf of the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and on behalf of the entire Hungarian people, and expressed his best wishes to Mauno Koivisto on the occasion of his reelection as president.

Karoly Grosz then reminded his audience that the current visit by the Finnish president is taking place in a much more favorable international atmosphere than the 1982 visit. At that time, in a dangerous international situation full of tensions, the focus of both Hungarian and Finnish foreign policy was aimed at keeping the East-West dialogue alive and solving controversial questions through negotiations. Our countries have endeavored to preserve the achievements by determined work and joint efforts in the period of detente.

New Foreign Policy Concepts [subhead]

Speaking about international issues, he said that the present situation is also complex but, instead of anxiety, we can feel increasing hope. More and more people recognize the fact that countries of different social orders exist on our planet in a system of complex mutual dependence. Global problems, like the danger of a nuclear war, the destruction of our natural environment, and hunger and epidemics that still affect millions of people, can be overcome only through joint efforts. The new thinking in foreign policy has led to an improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, the signing of an agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range nuclear missiles, the agreement on Afghanistan, and to a steady development of East-West relations. Karoly Grosz expressed the hope that the results of the recent Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow would give further impetus to the process that has begun.

Emphasizing the importance of the international role played by the small countries, Karoly Grosz pointed out that these countries should use their increased scope to make the positive trends of international life irreversible, by further strengthening confidence and further developing their relations.

"Through joint efforts, we have to give new impetus to the Helsinki process of European security and cooperation," Karoly Grosz pointed out. "It is in the interest of all countries involved to conclude the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna as soon as possible, with a substantial final document and agreements that assure the continuation of this process in all possible areas, for the benefit of all the peoples involved.

"The Hungarian people highly evaluate the positive foreign policy role of the Republic of Finland, and its activities aimed at strengthening international peace and security and the multifaceted cooperation based on mutual advantages. The basic foreign policy principles worked out by the former Finnish Presidents Paasikivi and Kekkonen have stood the test of time and have brought general recognition and prestige to their country." Karoly Grosz said it was a personal achievement of Koivisto's that he applies these principles in a consistent and creative way in dealing with today's world affairs.

The Exemplary Relations Between Our Countries [subhead]

Speaking about the recent MSZMP National Conference, Karoly Grosz stressed that it endorsed previous Hungarian foreign policy trends. According to this, and in accordance with the conditions of our country and with reality, we consider our major task is to consolidate international security, to strengthen mutual confidence, and to expand cooperation, which is advantageous for all the participants. The further development of our international relations is indispensable for achieving our economic and social goals too. We are striving to develop relations in which political dialogue, modern forms of economic cooperation, technical and scientific relations, cultural exchanges, and direct human contacts all play an important role.

Karoly Grosz expressed the belief that the exemplary relations between our two countries are developing in this direction. He also spoke highly about the ties of kinship between the two nations, ties that are reflected in our increasingly broad and richer relations. Our intention to reveal and exploit the still untapped opportunities for cooperation—an intention expressed during the current talks too—is a guarantee of the continuation of this favorable trend.

"The agreement on the mutual protection and encouragement of investments signed today is a further significant step in our joint efforts to make cooperation between our enterprises increasingly more favorable," Karoly Grosz pointed out. "There are great expectations for the joint venture of constructing a medical spa-hotel in Budapest, a project that might serve as an example for the new type of cooperation to be developed in the area of tourism.

"Our cultural relations are traditionally wide in their range. This is reflected by several steps taken in recent years, like the establishment of centers of Hungarian and Finnish studies, the literary collections in the Gorkiy Library in Budapest and in the Municipal Library in Por, as well as the establishment of the Kodaly Institute in Finland."

We Support the Broadening of "People's Diplomacy" [subhead]

Karoly Grosz mentioned the eighth Hungarian-Finnish friendship week to be organized soon, and the sister towns conference that will accompany the event, as

further important stages in Hungarian-Finnish relations-.Karoly Grosz stressed that we gladly support the direct participation of our citizens in developing relations between our two countries, and the widening of "people's diplomacy."

In conclusion, Karoly Grosz raised his glass to the health of Mauno Koivisto and his wife, the health of the Finnish guests, the prosperity of Finland and of the fraternal Finnish people, the cooperation between our countries, the friendship of our peoples, and peace.

Gorbachev To Pay 'Official' Visit Mid-July

LD1606151488 Warsaw PAP in English
1421 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—At the invitation from PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and from Poland's highest authorities, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official visit of friendship to Poland somewhere between July 10 and 20 this year.

Warsaw Pact Meeting Set

LD1606184888 Hamburg DPA in German
1824 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—According to well-informed circles in Warsaw, Gorbachev is combining his visit with the Warsaw Pact summit, which has also been announced for the second half of July. In addition, he will visit several Polish provincial cities. [passage omitted]

PAP on Bilateral Relations

LD1706022488 Warsaw PAP in English
1858 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The Soviet Union, though the same, is not like it used to be before Mikhail Gorbachev took over the steering wheel of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in April 1985.

In his person, the CPSU, the Soviet state and people obtained a leader they have not had, and it is no exaggeration, since the time Vladimir Lenin died.

Initiated under the guidance from Mikhail Gorbachev, perestroyka is a historic chance not only for the Soviet Union, but for the remaining socialist countries.

Soviet interest in Polish experience as to socialist renewal and reforms, as well as Polish interest in Soviet Union's perestroyka is becoming a new area of better mutual acquaintance, and proceeding in an open way at that, with no ideological or political prejudice.

There is no exaggeration in saying that relations between the two countries have never been this close, open and sincere as they are today.

A sufficent proof that these declarations are not hollow are the frequent, regular contacts between the two leaders, Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as the declaration on ideological, scientific and cultural cooperation signed by them last year, a document which meant a completely new quality in Polish-Soviet relations.

In the person of Mikhail Gorbachev Poland gained a great and sincere friend who possibly can better understand the specific situation of Poland than any previous Soviet leader.

Being already the third occasion Poland can host him since he was elected CPSU CC general secretary, the present July visit of the Soviet leader will serve to enhance this understanding.

The first time Warsaw saw Mikhail Gorbachev was in May 1985, when he went on his first foreign trip as head of the Soviet party. The second occasion was in 1986, when he headed the CPSU delegation to the 10th PUWP Congress.

Resumption of dialogue and improvement of climate in relations with the United States, a manifestation of which were the four summits held with Ronald Reagan, and first of all, the historic treaty on elimination of intermediate nuclear missiles, the bold decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, which establisehd hope for peaceful settlement of other regional conflicts which burden the contemporary world, the gradual improvement in relations with people's China and shift in Soviet policy towards the Pacific and Far-East region, the entry into dialogue with the Vatican, the removal of numerous barriers in relations with Western Europe, the most spectacular expression of which is establishment of relations with the European Economic Community (EEC)—these are but some of the fruits of new political thinking the Soviet leader suggested to the world as an alternative to the policy of confrontation, to mad, senseless and leading nowhere arms race.

There is no doubt that the approaching Polish visit by Mikhail Gorbachev will add new dynamics to friendship and cooperation between the two countries, elevate collaboration between them to a still higher level, contribute to tightening of contacts between our nations and to ensuring, as it was put in the Moscow declaration, that our children and grandchildren do not inherit any unsolved problems...

Long-Term Cooperation With USSR Discussed

LD1106223688 Warsaw PAP in English
1526 GMT 11 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 11: At a meeting here today, the Presidium of the Planning Commission considered a draft concept of Polish-Soviet economic, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2005.

Chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski, the meeting stressed that the concept defined directions for development of specialization and co-production in particular domains of economy.

Cooperation with the USSR will be of essential importance to establishment of premises for stepping up Poland's economic growth since the Soviet economy is being thoroughly modernized and is expected to more than double its production by 2005.

In most modern branches of production it is planned to render the cooperation more dynamic in nature basing on jointly pursued research projects.

With many ministers present, the Planning Commission Presidium ordered further development of the concept of long-term cooperation between the two economies along these lines.

It is worthwhile to underline here that the document provides for a broad application of economic instruments to stimulate development of cooperation, primarily on the basis of direct cooperation between enterprises as well as between scientific and research bodies.

The decisions that the discussed document contains will be put to life in a gradual way in the process of coordination of long-term plans for social and economic development of Poland and the Soviet Union.

Orzechowski Interviewed on Jaruzelski Plan

LD1406115288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 12 Jun 88

[Studio interview with Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski by Grzegorz Wozniak; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Wozniak] We have the pleasure of having Minister Marian Orzechowski in our studio, just hours after his return from New York to Warsaw. Minister, I have a few questions. First, how has the Polish plan, General Jaruzelski's plan, been received?

[Orzechowski] The Jaruzelski Plan on arms reduction in central Europe and on increasing confidence, and to be precise, its developed version after numerous consultations, has been received with interest. I think this is the right word, and interest means a lot in the United Nations. We have entered a good period. New hopes after the Moscow summit and its results, a new stage of disarmament and a conviction that it should be a constant, regular, and irreversible process, and also because we presented a very concrete version of the plan, which answered the questions put forward today by politicians and governments, and also by the nations of Europe.

[Wozniak] I think there is a possibility to include more nations in the disarmament process, and not only the two superpowers.

[Orzechowski] Yes, and there is a wider aspect of the issue, which played an important role in the work of the third special session. Today it becomes a common conviction, that however decisive a role in the disarmament process has been played by the two great powers, everybody is responsible and can and should take part in the process.

[Wozniak] In one of your press interviews you said that the third disarmament session could bring better results than expected. Do you have a solid ground for such optimism?

[Orzechowski] The optimism has been based on some real premises. First, the second disarmament session ended in failure, and this was due to the international situtions and relations between the two superpowers. Today the situation is different, and there is a different climate between the superpowers.

There are real disarmament steps, and there is the will of both powers to continue the process. This has had its impact at the third session, and it resulted in various initiatives put forward not only by European states, but also by nonaligned countries, by countries of Asia, Africa, and South America. This also confirms a thesis, that in conditions of detente and in a climate of confidence between both powers, the role of small and medium states also increases. We are in good position as our initiative seems to be best prepared and shaped after a year of work.

Solidarity Spokesman Admits Receiving U.S. Funds

LD1606222688 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 16 Jun 88

["Client of a Foreign Court"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—In a statement for the AP press agency, the spokesman of former "Solidarnosc," Janusz Onyszkiewicz confirmed that the American money earmarked for it had been received.

His words were aired by Radio Free Europe. Next, the Voice of America stated that "the trade union dismissed the accusations linked with receiving foreign money, stressing that also the government of People's Poland and the Catholic Church receives foreign aid."

One would like to know what kind of aid does the Polish Government receive from the United States at present. Why, for many years there not only was no aid but on the contrary, there were economic restrictions which caused a dozen-so billion dollars of losses for Poland. Also at present the U.S. stops short of renewing normal financial-credit relations which by no means facilitates the development of the economy and the solution of issues of foreign debt.

Let us return to the money which Janusz Onyszkiewicz confesses to. In this case it is important that he publicly confirms the fact of American dollars being used. And this is money for the opposition which does not conceal its anti-government and anti-socialist intentions.

Pecunia non olet [Money has no smell]. Instead of a commentary, let us quote the words of Wojciech Jaruzelski at the recent 7th PUWP CC Plenum: "Agreement is a matter of the Poles. The stubbornly renewed attempts in the West to interfere into our internal affairs can only harm this process. This is because we can talk with virtually everyone, providing he is not a client, and a paid one at that, of a foreign court."

Sejm Holds 2-Day Session on National Issues

Protestors Arrested

LD1606121388 Hamburg DPA in German 1114 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Five members of the "Freedom and Peace" pacifist movement were arrested in Warsaw today outside the Sejm building. They had a banner calling for the release of conscientious objectors and had positioned themselves outside the main entrance. Fifteen members of the pacifist group are in prison for refusing to do military service.

The agenda of the 2-day parliamentary session, which began today, includes a bill on altering the soldier's oath for those liable for military service. [passage omitted]

Councils Law Discussed

LD1606142088 Warsaw PAP in English 1318 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The Sejm adopted here on June 16 a resolution on the realization of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic states that the process of the implementation of solutions of the law of July 20, 1983, on the system of people's councils and local self-government has been going on—though not without difficulties—in a right direction.

Control measures and the assistance of the Council of State as well as the realization of earlier Sejm resolutions manifesting the care for respecting independence of local self-government bodies are conducive to consolidation of people's councils.

Basing on the information of the Council of State and on public suggestions and opinions, the Sejm notes progress made during the present term of people's councils.

The Sejm stresses the importance of the started—within the framework of the second stage of the economic reform—process of decentralization of enterprises for which supreme and central state administration organs have been founding bodies so far and voices its support for the continuation of the process in question.

The Sejm states that apart from positive results the execution of the law was also marked by weaknesses which should be eliminated in further activity through the creation of legal-organizational and material conditions conducive to increased effectiveness of the functioning of local self-government bodies.

The Sejm is of the opinion that people's councils end their term with measurable achievements but at the same time with a great set of unsolved issues the settlement of which has been awaited by local communities.

The Sejm critically evaluates the cases of violating the independence of people's councils and also the incomplete scope of verification and adjustment of legal acts to regulations of the law on the system of people's councils and local self-government. The Sejm turns to the Council of Ministers to start, in agreement with the Council of State, activities which secure:

— The preparing and filing with Sejm of a draft law on the communal property and inter-communal ties in such a time so that its regulations could be effective as of January 1, 1989

— The specifying till the end of 1989 of objectified criteria of shaping overall shares and subsidies for local budgets.

The Sejm underscores the need of the fuller use by people's councils of created possibilities to more effectively realize social economic tasks. The Sejm considers it expedient to popularize the institution of citizens' consultative conventions as an additional plane of dialogue and national agreement.

The Sejm expresses its conviction that people's councils of the new term, elected in tune with the amended and more democratic electoral law, will actively use increased powers.

The Sejm is also convinced that the process of consolidation of people's councils will gain broad support on the part of society in elections on June 19.

Agriculture, Food Economy Viewed

LD1606162388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Good afternoon. The 2-day session of the Sejm continues. [passage omitted]

After the report on agriculture and the food economy was read by Minister Stanislaw Zieba, a discussion began. Deputy Alojzy Nowicki was the first to take the floor. He said that the government report was thoroughly prepared but the negative side of that document was the

lack of the precise definition of the threats which have been accumulating for several years now. Its lack of statements on specific actions to overcome the situation was also a problem. Recent agricultural policy provided strong motivation for farmers to increase production, but has failed to create lasting material guarantees for an increase of agricultural production. The guidelines of the program for the development of agriculture and food economy until 1990 and the Sejm resolution on the national socioeconomic plan for 1986-90 are not being fully implemented. After the years of growth, a 5-percent drop in the final agricultural output was noted last year. The consequence of this decline, as well as of the increase in costs and material input, was that the already bad incomes situation in agriculture has deteriorated even further. These facts should be considered highly undesirable, or even dangerous for the further intensive development of our agriculture. The greatest danger lies in the insufficient reinforcement of the agricultural economy by the entire economy, and the yearly deterioration of the economic situation of the countryside. [passage omitted]

The discussion of the government report on the state of agriculture and food economy in 1987 continues.

Zieba Delivers Speech

LD1606201388 Warsaw PAP in English 1808 GMT 16 Jun 88

["Agriculture Minister Zieba's Sejm Address (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—After five years of unbroken growth in agricultural production, 1987 was marked with a production decline and production cost growth.

The horticultural disaster resulted in a drop in global plant reduction. Let us observe that had the 1987 fruit crop matched 1986 figures, the value of plant production would have been by 2 per cent higher.

A record crop in cereals and high rape and vegetable crops were achieved, although the quality deteriorated due to rainy summer.

Owing to better operation of the agricultural and food industries and better supplies for farming, the supply of foodstuffs exceeded figures provided for in the central annual plan, while the food market was relatively the strongest spot of commerce.

One must not overlook statistics supplied by the Main Statistical Office (GUS) on prices of goods and services. In 1987, food grew relatively cheaper in comparison with non-food consumer goods, or in other words, food prices climbed up more slowly than prices of other goods.

In keeping with the rules of the reform, this line of price evolution in foodstuffs must undergo gradual changes as it would otherwise continue to pose a realistic threat of food market collapse. Serverance of food prices from real cost of food production forces the agricultural and food industries to queue for subsidies, which grew by 43 per cent in 1987, while the total of subsidies for food consumption reached nearly 579 billion zlotys.

Crops procurement in 1987 exceeded the level envisaged in the central annual plan. For the first time ever, Polish farming produced over 26 million tons of grain. Over 0.5 million tons of wheat with high-glutenic content, which 5 years ago had not even been grown in Poland, were procured.

Increased also was production of edible plant oil, baby-food, and of other basic foodstuffs such as meat, cereals, butter and drinking milk, vegetable semi-processed products, soft fruit, eggs and poultry, confectionery. We could not avoid importing butter.

With a 300,000-plus population growth in Poland, meat and processed-meat consumption was increased to 66.3 kilos per capita, which is by 2.3 kilos more than envisaged for 1990 by the national socio-economic plan and by 4.3 kilos more than envisaged in the Sejm-approved programme of agriculture and food economy development up to 1990.

With positively-oriented foreign trade turnover balance in agricultural produce and foodstuffs, this practically implies attainment of the country's food self-sufficiency.

For the first time in many years, the investment tasks in the agricultural and food industries were fulfilled and reached higher dynamics than expenditure on the entire national economy.

As part of the reform's solutions, it is necessary to ensure lasting and indispensable profitability to the agricultural and food processing industry and to industries working for agriculture and food processing.

In 1987, profitability of food processing amounted on the average to 10 per cent and was significantly lower than profitability achieved in other non-food industrial branches.

Despite some progress in the small-scale food processing industry, only 1,000 handicraft bakeries, 1,100 mills, 500 pork-butcher's plants and 260 factories processing fruit and vegetables using local raw materials for production functioned in the countryside in 1987.

The functions of the economic centre change in keeping with the philosophy of the reform. Local administration controls practically all local enterprises. Some of them perform also macro-regional and even nationwide tasks.

For 3 years, agriculture and food economy have been attaining surplus in the foreign trade turnover of agricultural and foodstuffs. The tasks of the programme for the development of agriculture and food economy, adopted by the Sejm, envisaged the reaching of such a surplus only after 1990.

In 1987, the credit balance of the trade turnover in the food block rose to 85 million rubles with socialist countries and exceeded 170 million dollars with dollar zone countries.

We actively support and create favourable conditions for new initiatives in foreign trade and international cooperation in agriculture, forestry and food economy. The setting up of joint ventures, companies with the share of foreign capital, and joint enterprises of agricultural and food processing industry with the USSR and West European countries is advanced. First foundations for the development of Polish agriculture were also set up.

Of fundamental importance to the countryside is the issue of production profitability. An analysis of price growth in production means and services and of fees to be paid by farms indicates a higher financial strain on agriculture than provided for by the central annual plan.

Results of these calculations point to a growth rate of production cost independent of agriculture and a growth in farming population's cost of living, both progressing above figures adopted in the central annual plan.

Official prices of agricultural produce will be redressed effective this July 1 in order to maintain conditions of profitability of agricultural production and to improve relations between income of rural and non-rural population, or the so-called parity.

In order to counteract loss on procurement and to ensure regular supply of fat cattle and pigs, effective today animals delivered for procuerment will be priced along new quotients.

So that this year's tasks are fully fulfilled and so that better conditions for development of agriculture and the agricultural and food industries are established, the government will focus its attention upon the following tasks:

— Forcing industry and other non-agricultural branches of the economy to make regular deliveries of means of production and services as well as of equipment for the agricultural and food industries,

— Overcoming economic and material barriers with a view to fulfilling the investment programme in the agricultural and food industries as well as the technology programme for agriculture, and to establishing conditions for development of small-time food processing plants and production servicing of farming,

— Consistent eliminating of monopolist practices in food procurement, processing and trade, as well as full utilization and development of processing capacity of small-time food industries operating locally,

— Stimulating acceleration of development of technological and social infrastructure in the countryside, enhancing efforts when working with rural youth, and establishing conditions for the young to stay in farming,

— Speeding up works on draft economic and financial solutions aimed at drawing farmers' interest to cultivation of poor-soil land.

Government actions will consistently lead towards restructuring of the economy, towards establishment of necessary conditions for development of food production and for such development of agriculture and food economy as would be rational, economically sound, and conforming to the state's interests.

Draft Law on Land Integration [subhead]

By 1982, over 300 thousand hectares of land were annually integrated. Adopted March 26, 1982, the law on integration of land substantially slowed down the rate of integration to 25 thousand hectares per annum, contrary to hopes and expectations of the legislators.

The draft with new regulations is primarily aimed at establishing broader possibilities to initiate integration both following an application from farmers and ex officio, without reducing famers' rights through integration. Another objective of the draft is to adjust the regulations of the integration law to the law on the system of people's councils and local self-governments.

The draft upholds the principle whereby the primary method of initiating integration is a writen application from farmers, but the application will be considered valid only if more than 50 per cent of the total number of farmers owning land in the area of integration apply for it, or if the applicants own together more than 50 per cent of the land to be integrated.

The number of cases is expanded where even should an application from the required majority of farmers to integrate their land be lacking, respective basic-level state administration body will be capable of initiating ex officio integration, guided by economic necessity and on advice from local farmer's circle.

This would take place if distribution of fields in the proposed area of integration were particularly inconvenient, or if the land in proposed area of integration had been bisected by linear-type investment projects, such as railways, canals, motorways, which disorganized the system of farmers' transportation.

The government expresses a conviction that adoption of the said law would allow to intensify integration operations, and thus, to establish conditions for introduction of progress into agriculture in keeping with and for the sake of interests of farmers themselves. I therefore move the law be approved.

Nowicki Examines Food Program

LD1706222088 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 16 Jun 88

["Deputy Nowicki's Address (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The elaboration of the standpoint of the Agriculture, Forestry and the Food Industry Sejm (parliament) committee on the government report presented was an extremely difficult task. Aside from traditional problems occurring in our economy and determining the development of agriculture, last year, following a several-year period of systematic growth, saw a five-percent fall in agricultural final production.

In spite of this, agriculture and the food industry contributed to a balancing and stabilization of the whole national economy also in 1984.

The agricultural policy of recent years released strong production motivation in farmers and brought a clear improvement in the efficiency of production in this sector of the economy. A considerably revival of production in the countryside took place, as a result of which market supply improved.

This policy, however, was not able to create a lasting material guarantee of growing agricultural production. Many premises indicate that the positive phenomena which occurred in the food complex are not of a permanent character.

In the difficult 1987, the high yield and crops of grqin are worth stressing. These yields totalled 31.1 q per ha and were by 0.7 q higher than 1986 which was a good year in this respect. The situation in livestock production was, unfortunately, characterized by a further, 3.6-percent drop in the number of cattle, a further 5.2-percent drop in the number of cows and a 2.1-percent drop in the number of pigs.

1987 was marked by an increase of supplies of plant protection agents by nearly 27 percent. This increase was, however, accomplished mainly thanks to greater hard currency sums earmarked for imports and not as a result of the development of domestic production. The investment program of this industry, which was updated in 1985, envisaged, according to the supreme board of inspection NIK, the completion of 21 takss worth an estimated more than 4.2 billion zloties. Of the 10 major tasks directly related to the production of these agents, only 3, with a value of 42 million zloties, were fully completed.

The Agriculture, Forestry and Food Industry Committee states that the further maintenance of negative phenomena in agriculture and the food industry, which have been piling up for several years now, could outright render impossible the further implementation of the food program. The greatest threat is the delay in the supply of agriculture by the whole economy and the economic situation of the countryside which is deteriorating with every year. In connection with this, the committee motions for urgent government decisions to be made in these conditions as well as for greater responsibility and discipline on the part of all people and institutions which will put the adopted decisions into effect, Nowicki said.

Deputy Nowicki went on to present the committee's concrete motions which were contained in the draft Sejm resolution.

Resolution on Food Program

LD1606222288 Warsaw PAP in English 2118 GMT 16 Jun 88

["Sejm Resolution on Agriculture and Food Industry (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 16—The Sejm's resolution concerning the implementation in 1987 of the government programme of the development of agriculture and food industry, adopted today, stated that 1987 was another year during which the government did not fully implement the tasks which ensued from resolutions adopted by the sejm.

The government evaluation submitted to the Sejm presented in an insufficient way the accumulated in the past years threats to further development of agriculture and the food industry. Further maintaining of such unfavourable phenomena may block the the implementation of the country's food programme.

The Sejm obligated the government, among others, to:

- Undertake efficient activities ensuring a faster than hitherto pace of the restructuring of the economy in favour of agriculture. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to make appropriate changes in the national socio-economic plan for the years 1989-1990 and after 1990,

- Ensure in 1988 the implementation of Sejm's resolution on the improvement of the relation of incomes of farmers by 7 points compared to 1987 and to achieve the party of income in cities and rural areas by 1990,

- Further improve the economic system to ensure the profitability and the creation of conditions for self-financing in agriculture, the food industry and in industries working for the benefit of agriculture,

- Undertake more efficient steps ensuring appropriate conditions for the increase of animal production,

- Consistently implement programmes of land improvement, water supply for rural areas and agriculture, reelectrification, installation of telephones, gasification, improvement of services and social conditions in rural areas.

Orzechowski Removed

LD1706144988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 17 Jun 88

[Text] At the Sejm, the last point on the agenda is changes on state positions.

The Sejm has recalled Jadwiga Biedrzycka from the post of deputy Sejm speaker, and also recalled Mieczyslaw Rakowski from the post of deputy Sejm speaker and chairman of the Social and Economic Council at the Sejm.

The new Sejm deputy speakers are: Elzbieta Gacek and Tadeusz Porebski, who has been also appointed to the post of chairman of the Social and Economic Council at the Sejm.

The Sejm has recalled Tadeusz Hupalowski from the post of president of the Supreme Chamber of Control and appointed Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak to the post.

The Sejm also recalled Marian Orzechowski from the post of minister of foreign affairs and appointed Tadeusz Olechowski to the post.

Also today, the Sejm adopted the bill on the military oath, amended the bill on principles of creation of enterprise remuneration systems, and altered some rules of the penal law and the law on misdemeanors.

At this moment, there is a 15-minute break.

Jaruzelski Attends Party Deputies Caucus

LD1506221988 Warsaw PAP in English 2059 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—At today's meeting of the PUWP Deputies' Caucus here, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that operation of the Sejm of the 9th tenure was becoming an example for representative bodies and that new people's councils to be elected this Sunday should make use of helpful experience of the Polish parliament. Also today, meeting were held of the deputies' caucuses of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) and the Democratic Party (DP).

Topics discussed by the meeting of the PUWP Deputies' Caucus, which was chaired by Tadeusz Porebski, stemmed from the agenda of the next sejm session, starting tomorrow. The plenum of the PUWP CC which wound up yesterday was also referred to.

PUWP CC first secretary told the meeting that the Political Bureau read attentively the opinions, conclusions and prposals which had been presented by the PUWP deputies' caucus and which dealt with collaboration of the sejm and its bodies' government and other state organizations.

The conclusions reached by the caucus were rational, and it was found apt to carry a working review of the collaboration with a view to making it more operative and effective.

It was decided to hold a joint meeting of the PUWP Central Committee and the PUWP Deputies' Caucus, which, if held no later than end of June next year, could discuss also first experience of ongoing people's councils, operating on the basis of the legislation currently being amended.

Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized Sejm's great prestige with the population. The Polish parliament enjoys also prestige abroad. In spite of difficulties and shortcomings described in opinions voiced by the PUWP deputies' caucus, the sejm of the 9th tenure made a mile-long step when reinforcing the position of the supreme body of state authority in public and national life.

The meeting of the UPP deputies' caucus resolved that infavourable phenomena which had occurred after the price rise introduced last February 1 caused deterioration of basic supply and demand relations, further upset market disequilibrium and resulted in an increased influx of "hot money."

Majka on Results of PZPR Plenum

LD1506090988 Warsaw PAP in English 0125 GMT 15 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—Spokesman for the PUWP CC Jerzy Majka presenting the results and course of the 7th plenary meeting of the PUWP CC, said that the committee referred to the most important problems, characterizing the socio-economic and the socio-political situation in Poland.

Majka listed a number of guiding activities defined by the plenum including:

— Improvement of the country's economic situation and the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform,

— Improvement of the institutional system of democracy in Poland,

— The expansion of planes and forms of national agreement,

— Improvement of party's work system, adaptation of that system to the applied reforms.

Jerzy Majka also presented a resolution adopted by the plenum, stressing that it defines party's tasks in the current situation of the country and outlines the directions of activities linked with the improvement and adaptation to present demands of the PUWP's cadres policy.

Foreign journalists were interested, among others, in the procedure during the election of new members of the PUWP supreme authorities, in the interpretation of certain expressions included in the report of the Political Bureau delivered by Wojciech Jaruzelski, as well as in other speeches made during the plenum.

Many questions dealt with the recommendations granted by the PUWP for its members to managerial posts, with the institutional development of the consultative council and with the activity of party members in representative bodies.

Majka also pointed to conclusions from the plenary discussion included in the resolution and commented each of its points.

Slovene Assembly Assesses Legality in Jansa Case
LD1606195888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Ljubljana, June 16 (TANJUG)—During the jailing of the journalists Janez Jansa and David Tasic, the competent organs of internal affairs were behaving in keeping with their legally and constitutionally determined powers—this was unanimously concluded today by a group of delegates of the Assembly of the northwestern Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia in charge of the questions of total people's defence and social self-protection.

The group, in the role of an Assembly commission, was assessing the legality and correctness of the procedure against Jansa and Tasic, suspected of revealing a military secret.

The third convict, Sergeant-Major Ivan Borstner is under jurisdicion of the military organs.

In assessing that the instituting of penal proceedings against the two journalists of the Ljubljana youth paper 'MLADINA' had resulted exclusively from justified suspicion that a criminal act of revealing a military secret was committed, the delegates appraised that there were no grounds to associate their jailings with an alleged "military coup," which should have allegedly disrupted the democratic streams in Yugoslavia's best developed constituent republic.

Members of the group, however, assessed that untimely and incomplete information on the whole case had caused uncertainties among the public (information on detaining Jansa was 24 hours late).

The incompleteness of information on the whole case today was explained by the republic's Minister of Internal Affairs Tomaz Ertl by the right of the organs of internal affairs to withhold information for the public on certain questions when state, military or official secrets were concerned.

Slovenia's Ertl Explains Jansa Case
LD1606225388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 16 Jun 88

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—At a session of the group of delegates for all-people's defense and social self-protection [ONO and DSZ] of all the chambers of the Slovene Assembly, Tomaz Ertl, Slovene republican secretary for internal affairs, explained in detail the actions taken against Janez Jansa and David Tasic. The delegates taking part in the session were acting as members of the Assembly commission who, as Ertl said, should make an objective assessment of the legality and fairness of the actions taken against Jansa and Tasic by the internal affairs organs.

"If the internal affairs organs are informed or if they themselves have a justified suspicion that a criminal offense has been committed, then according to Article 151 of the Criminal Procedures Law they are obliged to take measures," said Tomaz Ertl. He added that in the case of nonapplication of the measures provided for by law, they themselves break the law for which they may bear criminal responsibility. "In the case of Janez Jansa, the internal affairs organs were in possession of information that Jansa had a confidential military document and there was suspicion that the criminal offense of disclosure of a military secret in accordance with Article 224/1 of the SFRY Criminal Code was being committed, said Ertl. Referring to the question as to who gave the order for the proceedings to start and how was it learned that Jansa possessed a confidential military document, Ertl said that he could only say that in gathering the information and during subsequent actions too, all the services of the republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs had taken part, and so is the state security service seeing that the law on the basis of the state security system and also the republican law on internal affairs have a special relevance particularly to this service.

"Starting with the first signs which could be rumors by the people who have some knowledge of the suspicion that a criminal offense has been committed, anonymous reports and so on up to the well-founded suspicion which justifies proceedings to be started, all the actions laid down by law must be carried out in a way which does not unnecessarily upset the citizens because of some unchecked information—although I admit that sometimes this happens," said Ertl. "We are aware of the fact that if citizens are upset for no reason, no excuse can totally eliminate the damage inflicted on the citizen involved and the internal affairs organs." [Transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 2 and 3 not received]

In David Tasic's case, within the ambit of our legal duties we carried out the order of the military investigating judge, Ertl continued, who demanded the detention of Tasic and the search of his house. At 1530 on 4 June, Tasic was asked to report to the militia station in Most na Soci where he was invited to report immediately to the military court in Ljubljana. He was also told of the order for the house search, said Ertl. Subsequently, Tasic was taken to the Ljubljana city internal affairs department, and at 2230 the same evening he was handed over to the military investigating judge. The following day a search was carried out at Tasic's place of work in the MLADINA editorial office when a photocopy of the same document as in Jansa's case was discovered.

"As can be seen from the description of the proceedings against all three suspects, these proceedings were different because of the different status of all three suspects.

Borstner is a military person and this is why military organs are totally responsible for him. In Jansa's case, he is a civilian and the internal affairs organs took measures in accordance with the criminal proceedings law, while in Tasic's case we only carried out the order of the military investigating judge and we have no right to discuss its content," said Ertl.

"Since both military investigating organs and the internal affairs organs must abide by the same law, this is, the Criminal Procedures Law, no differences of substance can or may occur with regard to whoever is carrying out specific measures," added Ertl. According to him, in this particular case and similar cases, no problems have ever occured in practice which indicate a need to change the legislation relative to the jurisdiction on the implementation of specific measures during preliminary proceedings.

Tomaz Ertl explained that the decision to start the proceedings is made by the organ that decided that evidence exists for the justified suspicion that a criminal offense was committed. In this case, the Ljubljana city Internal Affairs Administration, within the framework of legal provisions and its powers derived from the Criminal Procedures Law, searched Jansa's apartment and work place, finding in his work place and confiscating a confidential military document.

"After checking with appropriate military organs, we decided that this was a photocopy of part of a confidential military document, the original of which is described as "military secret—strictly confidential." According to information received from the security service, the military document, a part of which we found at Jansa's, had been removed from the Ljubljana Army district," said Tomaz Ertl. Since this was a part of the document which constituted "a stricly confidential military secret," the internal affairs organs decided to detain Jansa because, according to Ertl, the well-founded suspicion existed that he possessed the whole document or even several photocopies of the document. He was therefore under the suspicion of having disclosed a military secret in accordance with Article 224 of the SFRY Criminal Code.

Therefore, since the well-founded suspicion existed that Jansa was the perpetrator of the aforementioned criminal offense, and since there was also (?evidence) of a criminal offense, this provided the reasons and conditions for detention, in accordance with Article 196 of Criminal Procedures Law, said Tomaz Ertl.

Ertl said that after Jansa's appearance at the Ljubljana city Internal Affairs Administration, they received additional information. Our actions are documented: Jansa was released from detention and handed over to the investigating judge of the Ljubljana military court. Jansa's was detained from 0640 on 31 May until 1730 on 1 June, when he was taken to the military investigating judge. Accordingly, Jansa was detained by the Internal Affairs Administration for 34 hours and 50 minutes, while the physical part of his detention in the Povse Street jail lasted 24 hours and 15 minutes.

"Only a military person could have removed a military document classified "military secret—strictly confidential" from the units of the Ljubljana Army District. On the basis of inferences drawn by military security organs, the military investigating judge ordered the detention of Sergeant Major Ivan Borstner," said Ertl.

Tomaz Ertl said he had been empowered to discuss the nature of the confiscated military document and that the document classified "military secret—strictly confidential" refers to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and its combat readiness. He said it has no connection with conjectures about the alleged military coup, and that the document will not be revealed either today or at any time, because to do so would be tantamount to committing the same criminal act for which Borstner, Jansa, and Tasic are now being investigated.

Regarding the time factor and the extent to which the public is informed, Ertl stressed that regulations not only impose obligations on them but also restrict them, since they have the duty to provide information on issues of direct interest to the public only in cases when—in providing such information—they do not harm their own work or the justified advantages of citizens, the integrity of man's personality, personal, and family life; or the justified interests of the organizations and communities to which such information refers. "However, said Tomas Ertl, we can curtail reports and information if what we are dealing with is a state, military, or official secret. Bearing in mind all these criteria, we informed the public the moment we decided it was right to do so, and this had an unusual impact," said Ertl.

"The purpose of providing this information is to end all speculations and rumors that Jansa was investigated because of his publishing activity," said Ertl. However, since despite that there are rumors, protests, petitions, and suggestions that Jansa's case was an attack on the democratic process in Slovenia; that Jansa is in custody because of his articles about the army, that this was the beginning of the implementation of the anticipated military coup in Slovenia. Ertl replied in response to questions by 'TELEKS', 'DELO', 'DNEVNIK' and TV journalists with public information about everything they asked him about. Among other things, he said that Jansa was under suspicion of having committed a criminal offense on the basis of a concrete document found during the search of his work place, not because of his publishing activity.

However, according to Ertl, even that was not enough and individuals even said on television that Jansa and Tasic were guilty only because they were 'MLADINA' journalists. "Only the prosecutors departments and the

judiciary are entitled to establish guilt," stressed Ertl, adding that this was an indication that no amount of information can prevent malicious rumors.

"To link the proceedings against Borstner, Tasic, and Jansa with the alleged military coup is without foundation," said Tomaz Ertl. According to him this is a subjective construction based on the well-known talks in the republican secretariat of internal affairs with representatives of the Ljubljana Army District.

The talks on 26 March were first held in the Republican SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs] and afterward with Comrades Kucan and Dolanc because on the same day the decisions set out during the military council meeting by the Federal Secretary of National Defense in connection with the increasingly frequent attacks on the JNA were published. In that report special reference was made to information media in Slovenia. It said: If we were to judge by the types of attacks, it is clear that a special war is involved and the attacks were not launched by the editorial boards of individual papers and magazines, who were only the executors. They stressed again that the attacks on the JNA were in fact attacks on the Yugoslav socialist revolution, especially on Yugoslavia as a united federal state and self-manageing democratic community of equal nations and nationalities and of our working people, as a result of which they are antirevolutionary in nature.

"With the Ljubljana Army District command we discussed the fact that these assessments were not made in Slovenia because they would require such manifestations be prevented through judicial repression, and the writers who write critical articles about our social system and attack the JNA would be prosecuted by the courts, and this would have unforeseeable political consequences," said Ertl. "To a direct question by the commander as to whether the internal affairs organs in Slovenia would be able to overcome such consequences, it was said that these were not only security issues but primarily political matters, with which the commander himself agreed. He accepted the suggestion that the conversation should be continued with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, and with Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency."

"The Ljubljana Army District commander briefed Comrades Dolanc and Kucan on the substance of his talks in the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Comrades Kucan and Dolanc explained that the assessments by the Federal sEcretariat for National Defense in the Military Council were not in keeping with the assessments that had already been made, that the Military Council is a consultative organ of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense and is not competent to draw conclusions on these issues, said Ertl. He added that this was a normal conversation between senior officials of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and representatives of the Ljubljana Army District which, however, because of the nature of the issues, was continued or repeated with Dolanc and Kucan.

The rumors that the lists of people whose number, according to rumors, had increased to as many as 500, were discussed during these meetings, as were the measures the JNA will carry out in Slovenia. These have no foundation either in the talks or in the document, which was used by some to spread rumors and disseminate articles in public information media," said Ertl.

"The internal affairs organs were censured for not having consulted the political leadership of the SR of Slovenia before taking action. The internal affairs organs in the SR of Slovenia never consulted the political leadership or any individual on specific criminal offenses, nor did we obtain from anyone their views on whether we could initiate criminal proceedings," Ertl continued. According to him, as far as the internal affairs organs are concerned, every citizen is just a citizen with all his legal rights and duties. "I can say only this," Ertl said, "that would not like to be held responsible for the work of the internal affairs organs for one single moment if, in addition to judging whether there is a well-founded suspicion that a criminal offense has been committed, they also have to judge the significance or any other criteria relative to the suspect, or what the public reaction might be."

Ertl said that at least once a year the state and political leadership and the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia are briefed on the security situation and on the work of the internal affairs organs. In doing so they try to draw attention to the manifestations and processes which could have a serious impact on the security situation, indicating what preventive measures they intend to take but never saying what steps they intend to take if what is involved is a concrete suspicion that a criminal offense has been committed or a procedure which the internal affairs organs must undertake according to existing legislation.

In conclusion, Tomaz Ertl also pointed out that the law prescribes the right to complain if the internal affairs organs overstep their powers as laid down by laws when dealing with physical persons or legal entities. We have not received such a complaint in the Jansa and Tasic case nor has any organ, which by law is authorized to supervize the legality of the work of the internal affairs organs, suggested that we did not act in keeping with existing legislation," said Ertl. All searches, he said, were carried out in front of witnesses who by virtue of their signatures confirm that they have no observations to make on the procedure which was used.

"Proof of the fairness of our actions is that for Jansa the preliminary proceedings did not last 3 days, but much less, so as to reduce the time of detention as much as possible, which is in keeping with Article 190 of the Criminal Procedures Law," said Ertl in conclusion.

BORBA Criticizes Slovene 'Defenders'

AU1506190988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Defenders of the Nation"]

[Text] However much one tries to be tolerant, the views and opinions of the "leading Slovene intellectuals" are difficult to swallow for the majority of Yugoslavs who are offered a bottle of bile instead of a cup of honey. As it says in the 4 JULI commentary, how else is one to understand the words of Ciril Zlobec that "the latest and increasingly intense view of a strong state (read Yugoslavia) in which the peoples would find their own place and meaning, is neither democratic nor in keeping with AVNOJ principles, nor does it offer any future for Slovene independence and sovereignty." Or Ljuba Bavcon's claim that the criminal legislature in Slovenia is on a higher level of civilization and his view that, because of this, demands for a single criminal legislature and single judiciary should be rejected.

The author thinks that problems do not arise if the creative intelligentsia is preoccupied with the concept of the development and affirmation of national culture and if it works for the synthesizing of national expression and international thought. The problem arises when their views are not directed toward integrational processes; when national interests break from the social ones, and when these views, whether they want to or not, finally attain nationalist characteristics. In any case, will the "protection" of Slovenism not bring about the protection of Serbianism, Croatianism, Macedonianism....?

One should completely oppose any taking of sides by and feelings of support from other communities that are the least cultural, as well as the stirring up of some kind of Slovene syndrome whose conception has been announced who knows how many times by problematic theses.

The 4 JULI article states that it is obvious that a certain number of Slovene intellectuals are in a position of constant and real opposition to the community, operating in the interests of the nation, although they are more frequently deeply against these interests. Encouraged by their self-appointed duty as defenders of the nation (from Yugoslavia), they strongly insist on differences where no one has denied they exist and where these differences are intertwined with similarities with the rest of the Yugoslavs.

Slovene Editors Comment on Political Situation

AU1606145488 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Jun 88 p 3

[Michael Walcher report: "Marching in Would Be Too Expensive; Belgrade's Intervention in Ljubljana Is Unlikely for Financial and Political Reasons"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] MLADINA, which triggered off the latest conflict, is the journalistic mouthpiece of Slovenia's alternative people. For example, it quite openly advocates alternative service for conscientious objectors, articles which attack the police, as well as the Army, are published, and democracy is defended. In a talk with DIE PRESSE, 24-year old chief editor Robert Botteri even accused the police of manipulations regarding the arrest of his colleagues Janez Jansa and David Tasic for possession of military secrets. "This document was foisted on us."

After the publication of the intervention plans in May, the staff carefully searched the whole editorial department for dangerous material. "As a precaution, we even threw away all foreign papers so that the authorities had no occasion to intervene. And next day the police found an allegedly strictly secret document open on a desk. Strange, isn't it?" Botteri denies that Ivan Borstner, the officer cadet who was arrested for passing on secret material, really did supply the journalists with documents.

Botteri does not believe that the whole fuss could really lead to military intervention in Slovenia or even a coup: "The government cannot afford it, neither financially nor politically. Because the result would be a real civil war." The latest discussion alone is sufficient to reduce the reputation of the Army in Slovenia to zero. Three young men even came to blows with soldiers. "But all were drunk," Botteri qualifies. [passage omitted]

"We must convince the opponents of progress, namely by arguments," says Slavko Fras, president of the Slovenian Journalists Trade Union and chief editor of the intellectual magazine NASI RAZGLEDI. Fras believes that Slovenia is not taking a different course than Serbia, for example. "On the contrary, part of the demands in Belgrade are even more radical than here. But we are one step ahead in the implementation." Fras does not fear that democratization will fail: "The liberals have the better intellectual basis, as well as better arguments." However, caution is imperative, as the problems would even increase at first, following the introduction of principles of market economy. "At present we have a lower unemployment rate in Slovenia than in Switzerland. But this is misleading, for production is too inefficient by far." If the economy is modernized, this will also mean coping with a multitude of unemployed. Fras: "This will already be difficult here. But in the southern regions, millions will lose their jobs. Then it will be really difficult." Slavko Fras dismisses rumors of a coup as complete nonsense. "The structure of the country does not permit such a thing." Moreover, the Army is also not interested in plunging Yugoslavia into a crisis that would result in the disintegration of the multinational state, he stated. [passage omitted]

June Inflation Expected To Reach 'Record' High

AU1606151688 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] The big wave of price increases has started to subside, but the June inflation will be the highest since World War II. This was stated at the session of the SFRY

Assembly Committee for Markets and Prices by Milan Sojic, director of the Federal Institute for Prices. He also said that chances of not exceeding the target rate of inflation still exist, provided that in future the monthly rate of inflation does not exceed 3 percent. Slavisa Stojkovic reports from the SFRY Assembly:

This percentage figure is significantly more realistic if one bears in mind that the annual rate of inflation must not exceed 95 percent. However, only several days ago, at a session of the Federal Chamber, the FEC informed the delegates that prices can even rise at a rate of 8 percent a month.

At today's session the FEC representatives were in accord, even excessively so, because they all said the same thing, namely, that the intervention imports will not stop with raw materials and some articles. All articles whose price increased by more than 95 percent will be imported. The FEC again insisted that it will not introduce new intervention measures in the price sector, and that it will stick to its policy, which assumes that any reaction will be by exclusively market instruments.

As far as recent high price increases are concerned, the FEC representatives claimed that this had been taken into account, and that demand is already decreasing now. It is therefore estimated that this price wave will be short-lived. The delegates warned that without import competition it will be almost impossible to sort out things in the market and demanded that import duties be reduced as soon as possible.

Otherwise, the supply of the market is more or less satisfactory, except occasional problems in the supply of medicines and the cheaper sorts of meat. Therefore, the import list of medicines will be extended and domestic producers will to some extent be allowed to increase their prices. As far as meat is concerned, Bozidar Zivanovic, director of the Federal Directorate for Protection Reserves, said that the Directorate can offer all types of cheaper meats, but that the meat industry is not willing to take it, because this meat is ready for sale, and therefore slaughterhouses do not make much money on this meat.

And, finally, the journalists were almost unable to report on the whole analysis on reducing inflation, because this topic was marked as strictly confidential in the agenda. Only after several delegates had said that the analysis did not contain anything confidential or essentially different did the FEC agree to remove this barrier, but only as far as economic relations within the country are concerned.

Government Will Not Intervene in Price Control

LD1606210488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 16 (TANJUG)—Despite a considerable increase in prices after they were unfreezed in late May, the Federal Government believes that it is not necessary to intervene in that sector, government member Franciska Cetkovic said today.

At a session of the Federal Assembly Board for the Market and Prices, Cetkovic specified that possibly only economic measures would (?only) be undertaken in order to calm down the market.

Informing the delegates that the authorities were still receiving demands for prices to be increased by anywhere between 10 and several hundred percent, Cetkovic expressed confidence that the prices would cease soaring after the "first blow".

Inflation reached 149 percent in Yugoslavia in May, its monthly growth standing at 3.8 percent last month.

It was said at the sesion that the Federal Bureau for Prices had urged the producers demanding large increases in prices to re-examine their decisions. The state will intervene by imports to counter the producers of the same products, who agree on prices, and enterprises surpassing the limits established by the 1988 price policy.

It was warned, however, that economy was offering strong resistance to imports as intervention.

According to the figures of the Federal Bureau for Prices, the inflation rate can be kept at the aimed 94 percent only if its average monthly growth comes down to 3.5 percent.

Government Measures Encourage Exports

LD1606205088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 16 Jun 88

["pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government's latest measures—devaluation of the domestic currency, the dinar, activating the foreign currency market and narrowing the domestic demand through the liberalization of prices—have spurred the exporting orders of Yugoslav economy, it was announced in the Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy today.

It was warned, however, that the announced privileges for joint programs of production and export should be secured as soon as possible and that the problems of the dinar's liquidity be solved in order to retain the positive export trend on a long-term basis.

Representative of the National Bank of Yugoslavia said that the supply and demand at the foreign currency market are completely coordinated and that all demands for the economy's payment abroad have been met.

An overall of 548.8 million dollars have been secured at the Yugoslav hard currency market in the past twenty or so days, the National Bank of Yugoslavia's net subventions making up a mere 41 million dollars of the sum.

FEC Discusses Economic Problems in Kosovo

LD1606215188 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] We begin our review of domestic events with a report from a session of the FEC which today discussed the realization of the program of economic and financial consolidation of the economy and the banks in Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo. The program was established in the Yugoslav Assembly at the beginning of last year.

It was established that in these communities special programs for consolidation were drawn up and that on this basis more than 100 liquidation procedures have been initiated. All the measures envisioned by the program were adopted on time at the level of the federation. However, the process of restructuring of some organizations of associated labor is very slow and the transformation of the banking system has not been fully implemented. The FEC will propose that the Yugoslav Assembly should debate the possibility of taking over of commitments, on a solidarity basis, for repaying credits for economic projects in Madeconia, Montenegro, and Kosovo and at the same time a debate will start on their prospects.

Participants in the session also discussed an analysis of the economic and financial consolidation of the economy, banks, and other users of social funds in Kosovo. It was pointed out that a special problem is that the inflow of funds intended for consolidation remains inadequate. In a debate about the implementation of the social contract on special measures for the realization of a speedier development of Kosovo by the end of the decade, it was said that many concessions to the Kosovo economy have been ensured.

The FEC also discussed the process of pooling labor and resources between the Kosovo organizations of associated labor and the organizations from the republics and Vojvodina. It was stated that in the past 2 years 84 self-managing agreements on pooling were signed, with a value of 269 billion dinars. Most of the programs refer to industry, but they are mostly located in developed areas of the province. When all the projects are completed, and currently only 18 are underway, they will employ about 15,000 workers. It was established that still there are not enough good programs, and there is also a lack of expert cadres who should be working there. These and similar problems, it was concluded, could be overcome by more responsible behavior of all those taking part in self-managing pooling.

CSSR's Strougal Arrives for Official Visit

Welcomed by Mikulic

LD1606172388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jun (TANJUG)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal today arrived on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia, where with his host, FEC President Branko Mikulic, and other top ranking officials, he will hold talks on the development of economic and other bilateral relations and current international questions of bilateral interest.

Premier Strougal is accompanied by Svatopluk Potac, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission; Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba; First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes; and by other personalities. The visit will last until tomorrow afternoon.

At Belgrade airport the Czechoslovak premier was formally welcomed. He was met by FEC President Branko Mikulic; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; FEC member Mito Pejovski; Radenko Zunic, vice president of the Serbian Republic Executive Council; Zoran Miskovic, FEC Secretary General; and other Yugoslav personalities.

The first talks between Mikulic and Strougal will start this afternoon in the Palace of the Federation in New Belgrade.

Talks Begin in Belgrade

LD1606174488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Excerpts] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal today began a 2-day official friendly visit to Yugoslavia. Our special correspondent in Belgrade, Jindrich Malota, telexed this report to us a few moments ago:

Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal arrived in Belgrade shortly after 1630 this afternoon. [passage omitted]

Official talks between Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal and FEC President Branko Mikulic began in the Palace of the Federation shortly before 1800. The main subject of the talks is a review of the current state of relations, with emphasis on the prospects and opportunities for economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In addition to bilateral relations, the agenda will also cover topical international issues.

Later today, FEC President Branko Mikulic will host a gala dinner in honor of Lubomir Strougal, and both officials will make short toasts.

Talks Center on Economic Issues

LD1606222388 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade June 16 (CTK correspondent)—Upon his arrival here earlier in the day, Czechoslovak premier Lubomir Strougal started talks with his Yugoslav counterpart Branko Mikulic.

The two premiers reviewed Czechoslovak-Yugoslav cooperation. Lubomir Strougal informed his colleague of the course of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia, stressing that the success of the economic reform depends on the process of democratization and spiritual regeneration of society.

Lubomir Strougal spoke of the results of the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1986-90) and the causes hindering intensification and the reduction of the energy and material input in production, and stressed the dependence of Czechoslovak economic plans on international cooperation, especially with CMEA countries, and on the application of modern forms of cooperation.

The Czechoslovak premier also emphasized the need for the concretization and fulfilment of the long-term program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries till the year 2000.

The two premiers underlined the need to expand industrial cooperation and specialization, and the significance of joint ventures.

Branko Mikulic spoke of the interest of the two governments in promoting cooperation in all fields and without limits. He said it is necessary to change the existing forms of cooperation and to concentrate on new ways, such as joint ventures and cooperation on third markets. He also called for an increase in the volume of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav goods exchange.

Economic Cooperation Discussed

LD1606222888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2026 GMT 16 Jun 88

[Text] Belgrade, June 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Czechoslovak relations have a long tradition and are based on mutual trust, understanding and respect, it was stated this evening during a meeting between Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic and Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal who arrived here today on an official visit.

Today's first round of official Yugoslav-Czechoslovak talks devoted most attention to the promotion of economic cooperation. Mikulic and Strougal noted with satisfaction that the two countries' trade in 1987 reached one billion 400 million dollars.

Both premiers stressed the need for developing higher forms of production cooperation, such as industrial cooperation and specialization.

They also discussed measures which the two countries are taking in the fields of economic reform.

At a dinner offered in honour of the Czechoslovak guest, premier Mikulic said in his toast that Yugoslavia welcomes the reaffirmation of the policy of dialogue and negotiations on disarmament. He said Yugoslavia deems it necessary for all countries, both large and small, to be included in the renewed process of detente.

Referring to the recent meetings on non-aligned Mediterranean countries on the Yugoslav isle of Brioni and the Balkan foreign ministers meeting in Belgrade, Mikulic said the meetings proved to be factors of progress and security.

In his return toast, Premier Strougal said that the U.S.-Soviet summit in Moscow has confirmed that common sense is starting to prevail in the world in solving international issues.

It seems we have taken the path of understanding and trust between peoples. This path will neither be short not without obstacles, but its course is set, Strougal said.

Strougal will have final talks with Mikulic tomorrow. He will also be received by Yugoslav Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic and League of Communists of Yugsolavia (LCY) Presidency President Bosko Krunic.

Official Spokesman Comments on Havana, Whitehead

AU1606154688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jun 88 p 6

[Z.M. report: "A Good Beginning"]

[Text] Belgrade, 9 June—At today's press conference in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, journalists asked Ambassador Aleksander Stanic many questions—we are publishing some of these.

Havana: The Foreign Affairs Secretariat spokesman said that the most important characteristic of the recent ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Coordination Bureau in the Cuban capital city, was definitely the support shown for the negotiating processes on disarmament between the United States and the USSR. It was stressed that the progress made so far represents only a good beginning, especially as it comes after a long period of tension and the absence of any kind of agreement and that it is essential to continue and intensify this incipient process and widen it to include other significant nuclear and military forces.

The Balkans: We attach great importance to the meeting in Sofia of senior officials from the foreign affairs ministries of the Balkan countries and our preparations are being made in this spirit, said Stanic, adding among other things, that Yugoslavia will try to contribute as much as possible to the success of this meeting through specific proposals and recommendations and in this way contribute to a continuation of the dialogue.

The Middle East: We closely follow all activities and efforts aimed at finding a solution to the Middle East crisis. Stanic pointed out that it is understandable that

our interest is also aroused by the efforts which the United States is making in this direction and especially those of the American Secretary of State Shultz. However, as his visit has just ended, I am not in a position to comment further.

The United Nations: In open and friendly talks, Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar and Peres de Cuellar, UN secretary general, exchanged views on the special session on disarmament and on the Iran-Iraq war, said Stanic, replying in detail to a question on the talks that our federal secretary had in New York. It was heard that the mutual conviction was expressed that the special session would contribute to a positive trend in the area of disarmament. The UN secretary general also briefed Loncar on the results of his latest efforts for ending the Iran-Iraq war about which he is soon to inform the Security Council.

Whitehead's Visit: In friendly and open talks between senior Yugoslav officials and Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, the development of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States was positively assessed by both sides. They also emphasized an interest in developing further and widening all relations which were based on tested principles.

Krunic Sends Condolences on Saragat Death

AU1606123588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium has sent a telegram of condolences to Antonio Carrillo, secretary general of the Italian Social Democratic Party on the occasion of the death of Giuseppe Saragat, president of the Italian Social Democratic Party and former president of the Republic.